

MISCELLANEOUS
TRACTS:

VIZ.

- I. A Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, chiefly with Relation to the ancient *Spanish* Church.
- II. An History of the Pope's Behaviour towards *Portugal*, from the Year 1641, until the Year 1666, with Reference to his granting of Bishops to that Kingdom, and to all its Conquests.
- III. A Discovery of some gross Mistakes in the
- ROMAN Martyrology, &c.
- IV. The Legend of St. *James of Compostella*, with Animadversions upon it.
- V. The sad Catastrophe of *Antonio Perez*, Secretary of State to *Philip II.* King of *Spain*.
- VI. An Essay on the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, particularly on that which relates to Appeals to *Rome*.

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and Chancellor of the Church of Sarum.

V O L. II.

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M D C C X X X.



T O T H E

Most Reverend Father in God, THOMAS,
Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Pri-
mate of all *England* and Metropo-
litan, &c.

May it please your Grace,

THERE is no Order of Men,
though it spares none, not that
of Sovereign Princes, the Pa-
pacy lies harder upon, than on the Sacred
Order of Bishops; whose Authority it
has sought to lessen by an hundred Ways
and Arts; having long strenuously labour-
ed to ingross all Ecclesiastical Authority
and Jurisdiction to it self, and to bring
all other Bishops to be looked on only as
the Pope's Delegates, deriving all their
Jurisdiction and Authority, if not their
Order too, immediately from the Pope,
and not from Christ.

And though the Man of Sin, who ex-
alts himself thus above all that are cal-
ed Gods, has not hitherto, by all his Sor-
ceries, been able to enchant Bishops so,

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as to bring them, in any Council, to acknowledge themselves, not Christ's, but his immediate Creatures; they have, nevertheless, been brought to make Submissions to him, unworthy of the Dignity of their high Character.

So the time was, when your Grace's Predecessors, though Primates of a greater and nobler Nation, than the Roman ever was since the Exaltation of the Papacy; did esteem it no small Honour, to have the Title of the Pope's Legatus Natus; that is, in plain English, The Pope's born Bondsman, bestowed on them: And who, notwithstanding their high Primacy, and with that Title of Legatus Natus, were yet compelled, in their own Church, to truckle under every Legate that came into England from the Pope's Side, though of an Order inferior to them; to the great Confusion, if not Dissolution, of all Church Discipline in England.

And since nothing but a firm Persuasion of the Catholick Church's having been at all Times, and in all Places, subject
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to the Papal Supremacy, could possibly have brought Nations, which were never under the Roman Civil Empire, or after they had shaken its Yoke off to have submitted themselves to the Ecclesiastical Empire of that proud City; so the Falsehood of that Persuasion can be exposed by no other Way so manifestly, as by clear Historical Proofs of that Supremacy's not having been so much as known in the Church of Christ, in its first and purest Ages; no not in the Western Church, for in the Eastern it never was submitted to, nor acknowledged.

Now there being no Western Church, which has so many Ancient and Authentick Records remaining as the Spanish; I applied my self with Diligence, impartially to examine those Ancient Records, in Order to learn from them the true State of the Spanish Church, until the beginning of the Eighth Century; for so low those Records do reach: And having, by a diligent and impartial Search, plainly discovered, that during all those Ages,

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the Papal Supremacy, was not only not owned, but not so much as known in that great Church; I judged it might be of some Advantage to the Church of England, which resembles that Ancient Spanish Church more than any other Church does that is now in the World, for to have that proved, and the Truth of it published.

The Ancient Spanish Church is here called by me a great Church, as well for the eminent Piety and Learning of her Bishops, in those Days, as for the Wideness of her Extent; not only all Spain, which is a vast Country, and was then very populous, but a great Part of Gaul or France, having belonged to her.

And having been determined by the fore-mentioned Reason, to write and publish a Dissertation on that Subject; I could not well think of putting it under any other Patronage, than that of the Primate of the noblest and best established Antipapal Church in the World; and which so much resembles the Church here treated of; and especially since it happens so, that
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That Primate, before he ascended that high Post, was a Champion in our Church, whilst she was contending against the return of the Papal Supremacy over her; and which being backed by the Royal Authority, struggled hard to have forced its Way into England again.

And as the Post your Grace was in at that time, was justly esteemed the Forlorn of our Church; so I do very well remember, when all the steady Members of the Church of England did thank God for having filled that dangerous Post so well, in a Day of so fierce a Tryal.

But though this may be sufficient to cause this Dedication to be proper, it would not have emboldened me to have made it, had I not been drawn to it, by a strong Sense of Favours your Grace has been pleased to confer upon me, which were not only greater than I deserved, but than I ever expected; and not knowing whether I may ever have the like Opportunity again of making any publick Acknowledgments of those Favours, I could not let this slip,

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and especially being led to it by the Matter of the following Dissertation.

The Second Tract, naturally puts it self likewise under your Grace's Patronage; in it the World may see plainly, how great an Unhappiness it is for any Church to be under the Government of a Foreign Primate, and especially of one so powerful as the Pope, and who has so many great Temporal Interests of his own to serve and pursue.

The Third, Fourth, and Fifth Tracts, do also Petition for the same Favour; not to protect any of them against having their Mistakes detected; for as that cannot be, so neither is it desired; but only to receive some Honour from so great a Patronage, until they shall be found not capable of it.

I shall not give your Grace any farther Trouble, but only to beg Pardon for a Boldness which flows from Gratitude, and your Blessing, with Leave to subscribe my self,

*Your Grace's most Humble
and most obliged Servant,*

MICHAEL GEDDES.

A
DISSERTATION
ON THE

Papal Supremacy, &c.

TO trace the Bishop of *Rome's* pretence to a *Supremacy* over the whole Christian Church, briefly, from its Original; it is founded on a very uncertain Story; for I cannot but reckon that of *St. Peter's* having been at *Rome*, to be so, at best; and on the most precarious Consequences, that were ever drawn from that or from any other Story, true or false. And that its Rise, Progress, and Continuance, might be all of a Piece; that *Supremacy* did visibly work its Way into the *Western Church*, and support it self there, by forging of false Evidences, to create, and to continue to it self a *Title*; and by the suppressing of ancient Records; which, had they remained, would have demonstrated that *Supremacy* not to have been from the beginning, as it boldly pretends to have been. And are not these the very *Frauds* and *Arts* by which the *Anti-christi-*
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an Empire was to be erected in the World, according to the *Scriptures*? And that the Evidences to be met with in those *Divine Writings*, and in those of the *Primitive General Councils*, against that *Supremacy*, have been preserved to us entire, is owing, under God and his especial Providence, to those ancient *sacred Records* having never been in the sole keeping of the Bishops of *Rome*, as all the proper Writings of the *Western Church* were, for several Ages; but in the Custody of all other Christian Churches likewise; and by all which that *Supremacy* was still opposed, as an *Anti-christian Usurpation*: For had it not been for this Check, we have great Reason to believe, those *sacred Records* would, on the account of those Evidences, long e'er now, have either been suppressed, or taught to speak the *Language of the Beast*, as plain as the *Decretal Epistles* speak it, which do pretend to the same Antiquity; but which, hereafter I shall demonstrate, at soonest, to have been forged in the seventh Century.

> As to the *Primacy*, which was given to the Bishop of *Rome* by the first *Christian Councils*, as it was given to that Bishop on no other consideration but that of *Rome's* being at that time the Seat and *Metropolis* of the Empire; so that *Primacy* did differ just so much from the *Supremacy* which

which the Bishop of *Rome* now lays a Claim to, as a *Primacy of Order and Dignity*, with very little Power, and that limited to a small part of the Church, differs from a *Superiority of an Universal and Uncontroulable Jurisdiction*. And that this was the sole Foundation of the Bishop of *Rome's* ancient *Primacy*, is manifest from the twenty-eighth Canon of the General Council of *Chalcedon*, and indeed from the known Rule all the Primitive Councils governed themselves by, in the giving of Precedency to Bishopricks; which Rule was, that Bishopricks should have Precedency according to the Dignity of their Cities, by the Secular Constitutions of the Empire; and accordingly, at the same time the Bishop of *Rome* was made the first Bishop, because *Rome* was the Metropolis and first City of the Empire; the Bishop of *Alexandria* was made the second Bishop, because *Alexandria* was then the second City of the Empire; and the Bishop of *Antioch* was made the third Bishop, because *Antioch* was then the third City; and which, for that Reason, though it had St. *Peter* for its first Bishop, was postponed to *Alexandria*, whose first Bishop was only St *Peter's* Disciple. The Bishop of *Jerusalem*, indeed, had a *Precedency* given to him on a Christian Consideration; but at the same time the Secular Consideration was reckoned

reckoned so much stronger than that, that not only the three fore-mentioned Bishops had the Precedency of him, but he was continued a Subject to the Bishop of *Cæsarea*, because that City was before *Jerusalem* in the Constitution of the Empire.

— This is the true and plain History of the Bishop of *Rome's* ancient Primacy; and which, though it had very little Authority belonging to it, and that confined too within small Bounds, yet I will not say but that That harmless Primacy might be made use of to prepare the Way for that Bishop's *Supremacy* in the *Western Church*, which, for several Ages, was, as to all *Ecclesiastical Antiquities*, under a Cloud of Ignorance, thicker than can well be believed. And whilst the *Western Church* was thus asleep, the Enemy came, and sowed this, and many more *Tares* in her Field.

For is it not plain, that the Bishops of *Rome*, after they were in Possession of that *Primacy*, were still stretching it; and grasping after more Jurisdiction than belonging to it, though for many Years but to little purpose?

So in the Fifth Century, the Bishop of *Rome* did challenge to himself a Jurisdiction over all the *African Churches*; not as *St. Peter's* Successor, but by Vertue of a Decree of the Council

Council of *Nice*: But the *African* Bishops, and of which Number the great St. *Austin* was one, being surprized at this new pretence, did send into *Greece* for an authentick Copy of all the Acts of that Council; and when they had them, having found nothing in them concerning that Matter, they rejected that Claim of the Bishop of *Rome*'s with Indignation, having clearly discovered that Trick which he would have put upon them.

But the thing that stood most in the way of this *Roman Primacy*'s swelling in the *East*, (though, as we shall see hereafter, it was the great means of the Popes acquiring their present *Supremacy* in the *West*,) was the Seat of the Empire, which was the ground that *Primacy* stood on, having been soon after removed from *Rome* to *Constantinople*; and to which City, for that reason, the *Ecclesiastical Primacy* ought to have gone. And of the great Danger there was that it would do so, the Bishops of *Rome* were so sensible, that they were both for changing the ground of that *Primacy*, and for keeping the Bishop of *Constantinople* from being at all considered on that Account.

But that Bishop having, notwithstanding all the Opposition the Pope was able to make, had the *Precedency* to *Alexandria* and *Antioch* granted to him, on that consideration,

deration, he did after he was got next to the Bishop of *Rome*, as it was feared, begin to tread very hard upon his Heels ; and being on the higher Ground, it was not doubted, but that e'er long he would take the Advantage of it, and step over him.

And the thing that had hindered that from being done, as soon as the *Seat of the Empire* was translated to *Constantinople* ; being now, by the long and constant Residence of the Emperors in that City, pretty much worn out : Which was the profound Veneration which had been paid to the City of *Rome*, as the *Mistress of the World* ; the Emperors now judging it to be safe, for to honour their Court with the *Ecclesiastical Primacy*, did resolve to remove it from *Rome* to *Constantinople* ; and accordingly in the Year of our Lord 595, the *Ecclesiastical Primacy*, and with it the Title of *Oecumenical or Universal Bishop*, was by the Emperor *Mauritius* and a Synod, settled for ever on the Bishop of *Constantinople*, and his Successors: That Bishop had eight Years before this, in a Synod, stiled himself the *Universal Bishop*, to the great Disturbance of the Papal Ambition, which for many Years had observed all that Bishop's Steps, with a watchful and jealous Eye.

The Bishop of *Rome*, who at that time was *Gregory*, called the *Great*, when he
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heard of what had been done at *Constantinople*, instead of putting in his own Claim to that Title, did take to himself the humble Title, *Of the Servant of the Servants of God*; and did with all his force set himself to batter that Title and Superiority of the Bishop of *Constantinople* to Pieces; and that in general, calling it, in general, a proud, perverse, foolish, and blasphemous Presumption; and adding, that as none of his Predecessors had ever assumed any such Title to themselves, so whoever did it, was certainly an Imitator of Lucifer, and the forerunner of Anti-christ, and did by exalting himself so high above his Brethren, degrade all the other Bishops of the Church: So plainly could this Pope, in general, see the pernicious Consequences of an *Universal Supremacy* over the Church being lodged in any one single Bishop.

But the worst thing in this Matter was, that this Pope, at the same time that he was declaiming so vehemently against that Superiority and Title in the *East*, was himself very busy in the *West* to help his own See there to a Superiority of a much greater Jurisdiction than that was he was declaiming against: Which fraudulent and double Practice of Gregory's, is enough to lessen his *Saintship* very much, in the Opinion of all that judge of Men and Things impartially; or

or if that alone cannot do it sufficiently, let any one but read that Pope's cajolling Letters to the Emperor *Mauritius*, and his Letters written presently after to *Phocas*, by whom *Mauritius* was Deposed and Murthered, and after that, think well of *Gregory's* Saintship if he can.

And here, by the way, I cannot but take Notice, that this *Gregory* is the last Pope the *Roman* Writers give that Title of Saint to, and which they do give to most of the Popes that were before him; as if the Sanctity of the *Roman See* had been drove out of it by the *Supremacy*, which was settled upon it by *Phocas*, within two Years after this *Gregory's* Death: And is it not a thing worth the noting, that though since that time the Popes have canonized and declared so many to be Saints, they have not in an eleven hundred Years met with one amongst all their Predecessors, whom they could judge worthy of that Title, notwithstanding, for a long time, they have all had that of Holiness whilst they lived? But to return,

The Emperor *Mauritius* having been deposed and barbarously Murthered, with all his Sons, by his Servant *Phocas*; that Parricide being angry with *Cyriacus* Bishop of *Constantinople*, for having shewed some Kindness to *Mauritius's* Widow; and having at
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the same time been highly complemented by Pope *Gregory*, and his Successor *Boniface*; to create an Interest to himself in the West, in the Year 606, he did by an Imperial Edict, take the *Primacy* from *Constantinople*, and settle a *Supremacy* on the Bishop of *Rome* and his Successors. Now here let any one but consider what a Monster of Villany this Paricide, *Phocas*, was, to whom the Church of *Rome* owes the Legal Establishment of her *Paladium*, the *Supremacy*, and not wonder, if he can, at the Hardiness of those Men, who when they have displayed the Vices of King *Henry* the 8th, do reckon that they have sufficiently discredited his Expulsion of the *Roman Supremacy* out of *England*.

But though this Establishment of the *Roman Supremacy*, was, by reason of its Author, *Phocas* having been deposed and killed soon after it was made, of no Benefit to the Bishops of *Rome* in the East, yet in *Italy* it was undoubtedly of great use to them; which being highly discontented to see the Seat of its own Empire, with all its Honours, translated into *Greece*, could not but be highly concerned to hold and support that of the *Ecclesiastical Primacy*, as the only remaining Ensign of her former Imperial Grandeur: And they must not know much of Mankind, that do want to be told, how powerful and imperious such Emulations

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betwixt Nations are, and especially in such a case as this of *Italy's* was ; so that, though, as we see, the Bishops of *Rome*, by the Seat of the Empire having been removed into the *East*, were in great Danger of having lost their honorary and empty *Primacy* there ; yet those Bishops were so far from being losers, that they were great gainers by that Change ; having, by reason of the Emperors great distance from them, been enabled to assume to themselves a Power, which the Emperors, had they resided constantly at *Rome*, would never have suffered to have sprung up under their Noses, agreeably to those Words of St. *Paul*, *And ye know what withholdeth* ; that is, the Presence and the Strength of the *Roman Empire*, *that he*, that is the Anti-christ, *may be revealed in his time*. But to proceed,

At the time when this Establishment of the *Roman Supremacy* was made by *Phocas*, there were divers great Churches in the West, namely, that of the *Britains*, and that of the *Spaniards*, which were no ways affected by it, being under *Civil Governments*, which, at that time, had no dependence at all on the *Roman Empire*.

As to the *British Church*, from the small Remains that we have left of her Antiquities, we see plainly, that, towards the latter end of the sixth Century, that Church had
never

never been subject to *Rome*; and that she was no ways disposed to have submitted herself to the *Papal Supremacy*; witness the Opposition which was made by the *British Clergy* to *Austin* the *Roman Monk*, and to the Authority of the *Roman Church* in the Point about the time when *Easter* was to be observed; in which, if the Reader desires to be fully satisfied, he must repair to the Books of the two most Learned Bishops of *Worcester*, Dr. *Floyd* and Dr. *Stillingfleet*.

So that the *Roman Supremacy* was first brought into *Britain* by the *Saxons*, who having been converted from *Paganism* to *Christianity*, near the end of the sixth Century, by some of the Bishop of *Rome's* Disciples; they had been taught by them, that the *Papal Supremacy* was an Authority in the Church, of Christ's own immediate Institution; which was a trick they could not have put on the *Britains* or *Spaniards*, who had then been *Christians* for some Ages, without having heard of that *Supremacy* before, and by whom it was therefore treated as a novel Invention.

As to the ancient *Spanish Church*, after having made as narrow and impartial a search into her *Antiquities* as I was able, I am persuaded two things relating to that Church may be clearly made out.

The First is, That before the eighth Century, the Bishop of *Rome* had no Jurisdiction or Authority in the *Spanish* Church.

The Second is, That when the Bishop of *Rome* did, in the beginning of the eighth Century, first attempt to introduce his *Supremacy* into *Spain*; that *Supremacy* was rejected and condemned by the *Spanish* Church, in a Council of all her Bishops.

No Man of any reason can expect here to meet with exprefs and positive Proofs in Confirmation of the Truth of the first Proposition, seeing, unless it be in Prophecies, and which are not wanting in the Scriptures against that *Supremacy*, such Proofs are not possible in the Case contained in it; all that is possible therefore in that Case, is, to produce such Reasons as will abundantly justify what is affirmed in it: And I am much mistaken if that known Rule, *that things which do not appear, are as if they did not exist*, was ever more unexceptionable in any Case, than I shall shew it to be in this before us: For let it be but granted, that no Authority, and much less a supream Authority, can possibly have been for some hundreds of Years in any Body of Men, which hath frequently assembled together to make Laws, without ever having made any Discovery of its Exercise; (and must they not be stiff Champions, who, for the sake of their Cause, will not grant this?)

this?) and I doubt not but from *Records* of unquestionable Authority, to demonstrate the Truth of the first Proposition.

Betwixt the Year of our Lord 324, when the Council of *Eliberis* was celebrated in *Spain*, and the Year 694 when the seventeenth Council of *Toledo* was celebrated there, no fewer then *forty Ecclesiastical Synods, National, or Provincial*, were assembled in the *Spanish Church*.

I do go no higher than the Year 324, because we have no History of the *Spanish Church* before that time: The *Legendary Antiquities* of that Church, which were invented after the ninth Century, do indeed relate a great many strange Successes in it, from the Apostles Days; but though those *Legends* do in the main make against the *Papal Supremacy*, affirming, that the *Christian Faith* was first preached and planted in *Spain* by the Apostle St. *James*, without taking Notice of his having touched at *Rome*, or of his having had any Commission from Saint *Peter*; and for which reason, those *Legends*, though they are adored in *Spain*, are much slighted in *Rome*; however, I shall take no further Notice of them, than to say, that they are such monstrously absurd, flat, and incredible Stories, that nothing can possibly make People of any Sense believe them, but their having had *strong Delusions* sent

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them,

them, as a *Judgment*, that they should believe Lies.

On the contrary, the Acts of the *Forty* fore-mentioned *Councils*, which are extant, are, as to the main, all unquestionably true and genuine; and had they not been so, their Authority would long e'er now have been called in question by *Baronius*, and the other Papal Champions, who wanted not Will to do it. Or if there be any *Interpolations* in them, as I do suspect there may be some, since all the *Manuscripts* of them, ever since the Pope's Supremacy was admitted into *Spain*, have been, and still are, solely in the keeping of *Papists*; none can suspect those *Interpolations*, to have been made, to the Pope's Disadvantage; and I must confess, that considering how much the itch of forging and interpolating Writings prevailed in *Spain* after the 7th Century, I have many times wonder'd, how they have escaped so well as they have done. Those Councils were all printed in *Madrid*, from several ancient Manuscripts, and with learned *Notes* upon them, in the Year 1593, by *Gaspar Loaisa*, who was soon after made Archbishop of *Toledo*.

In all those Councils, Matters relating either to *Faith*, or to the *Discipline* of the Church, were handled and decreed; and *Heresies* and *Hereticks* were condemned; and, in a Word, all things were done in them

them that were judged to be necessary to the Security and Advancement of true Religion and good Manners in *Spain*. And was it possible when all those *Councils* did meet and act thus, that the *Roman Supremacy* had it then been owned by that Church, should not on so many and so great Occasions, have made some Discovery of its Authority by its Exercise?

First, It is plain from the Authentick Acts of those Councils, that none of them were called by the Bishop of *Rome*.

Secondly, That the Bishop of *Rome* had no Person in any of them to represent him.

Thirdly, That none of the Decrees of those Councils, concerning either *Faith* or *Discipline*, were ever confirmed by the Bishop of *Rome*; nor was that Bishop's *Approbation* and *Confirmation* of them ever desired.

Fourthly, At the end of most of those Councils, there is a *Relation of Thanks*, as it is called, in which solemn *Thanks* are returned to *God*, and to the *King*, by whom they were assembled, for their good Success; in none of which *Thanksgivings* the Bishop of *Rome* is so much as once named.

Lastly, In all those Councils the Bishop of *Rome* is not mentioned often, and never with any Intimation of his having any Authority in them. And farther, though there were divers *Canons* made, concerning the *Hierarchy*

of the *Church*, by several of those Councils, there is not the least mention of the *Papal Supremacy* in any of those Canons.

But there is one thing which alone is sufficient to demonstrate, that the ancient *Spanish Church* had no regard to the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, no not in Matters of *Faith*; which is, that Church's having added *Filioque* to the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, not only without consulting the Popes about it, but contrary to their Minds.

And as it is acknowledged by all, that *Filioque* was first added to that Creed in *Spain*, so the first time we meet with that *Addition* there, is in the third Council of *Toledo*, which was celebrated in the Year 589, and after that, we meet with it again in the fourth, in the eighth, the eleventh, the twelfth, and the thirteenth Councils assembled in that City: And as there was a great Number of *Gallick Bishops* present at those Councils, so that *Addition* having been carried by them into *Gaul*, it has ever since been in the *Creed* of that Church, as well as in the *Spanish*.

Let us see now whether the Bishops of *Rome* had any Hand in this great *Change*, and it is certain they had not; this *Addition* having been made in *Spain* above three hundred Years before the *Roman Bishops* would suffer it to be put into their Creed: So after
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the Council of *Aquisgrane*, which was held in the Year 809, and in which the Proceſſion of the Holy Ghoſt was handled, the Emperor *Charles* the Great, underſtanding that *Filioque* was not in the *Roman* Creed, ſent a Biſhop and an Abbot to *Rome*, to perſuade Pope *Leo* the Third to admit it; but *Leo*, though vehemently urged to it by that Emperor's Envoys, would not conſent to its being done: On the contrary he blamed thoſe that had made that Addition, and did wiſh that ſome Courſe might be taken to wear it out of the Creed, without giving Offence to the People in thoſe Countries in which it had been ſo long uſed; and ſo zealous was that Pope againſt that Addition, that on this Occaſion he cauſed the *Conſtantinopolitan* Creed without it, to be graved upon a Silver Plate in *Latin*, and upon another in *Greek*, and to be ſet up in *St. Peter's* Church at *Rome*. But the *Spaniſh* and *French* Churches, being as ſtiff on the other ſide, for keeping that Addition in the Creed; ſince the Mountain would not go to *Mahomet*, *Mahomet* went to the Mountain; and Pope *Benedict* the Seventh did receive it into the *Roman* Creed, above three hundred and fifty Years after it had been in the *Spaniſh* and *Gallick*.

Now let a National Council be called by the King in *Spain*, and let the Pope have no Body in it to repreſent him; and when it is
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assembled, let it make an Addition to the Creed, not only without the Pope's Permission, but contrary to his mind; and the Pope not reckon that to be a rejecting of his *Supremacy*; and I shall then be disposed to believe, that the *Papal Supremacy* might be in *Spain* all the time these antient Councils were celebrated in her.

The antient *Spanish* Church having had a Liturgy of her own, and which differed very much from the *Roman*, is likewise a strong Evidence of that Church's having never been subject to *Rome*: Of which antient *Spanish*, or *Gothick* Liturgy, and of the Points wherein it differed from the *Roman*, having given a large Account elsewhere, I will not here, for that Reason, say any more of it.

And as this is, I think, an irresistible Evidence that the Bishop of *Rome* could not have any Authority, and much less a *Supremacy*, in the antient *Spanish* Church, during the whole time of those Councils; so the Popes are so sensible that it is so, that for that reason they would gladly have all those antient *Spanish* Councils looked on as Schismatical Assemblies, for having met, and acted, as they did, without the Bishops of *Rome's* Authority, if not in Contradiction to it.

And that the Popes do for this reason stand very ill affected to those ancient Councils, the wise and learned Dr. *Vargas* assures us,

us, in his Letter writ from *Trent* to the Bishop of *Arras*, bearing Date the 26th of *November* 1551, in which Letter that great Man, writes as followeth. ‘ There was a certain
 ‘ Prelate, who in a general Seffion, had the
 ‘ Confidence to say on that Occasion, that
 ‘ the Councils of *Toledo* were all held in
 ‘ Contradiction to the Apostolical See ; with
 ‘ a great deal more of such Stuff, which
 ‘ gave no small Offence to a great many :
 ‘ Those Councils having been so famous,
 ‘ and of so great Advantage to the Church :
 ‘ He that spoke this was the Bishop of *Fano*,
 ‘ who is to be made a Cardinal ; and, as
 ‘ they write, at the Nomination of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty ; and who though a Person of great
 ‘ Honour, spoke this, because he knew it
 ‘ would be grateful to the Legates ; and
 ‘ would make way for his Promotion’. And
 so it did, for in the same Year that this Letter was writ, we find this Prelate, whose Name was *Peter Bartani*, and who was by Nation an *Italian*, created Cardinal of S. S. *Marcellini* and *Petri*.

After such a Confession as this from so great a Papal Champion, and on so Publick a Stage, and made on purpose to gratify the Pope, I reckon it is needless to offer any thing farther in Vindication of the Truth of the first Proposition ; not but that That Proposition, without this Confession, is I think,
 proved

proved as plainly as any Negative can possibly be proved : So I pass to the second Proposition, which is, That when the Bishop of *Rome* did, in the beginning of the eighth Century, first attempt to introduce his *Supremacy* into *Spain*, that *Supremacy* was rejected, and condemned by the *Spanish* Church in a Council of all her Bishops.

Though the Bishop of *Fano* was mistaken when he said, all the Councils of *Toledo* had been held in Contradiction to the Pope ; for it is certain that seventeen of them were not, the Papal Authority having never been any ways regarded by any of them ; yet as to the eighteenth Council assembled in that City, he was in the right ; for that Council was indeed called in Contradiction to the Papal Authority, and when it was met, did condemn it ; the Occasion was this :

In the beginning of the eighth Century, when the Pope and his Monks were very busy to promote the Cœlibacy of the Clergy, and to impose it upon them : *Witiza*, King of *Spain*, being of Opinion that it was an ill thing, did in the Year 702, by a Statute, make it lawful for the Clergy, within his Dominions, to marry if they pleased, as they had done formerly : And in this, that King was not singular, most of the secular Clergy, in all Countries, having been of the same Mind.

But

But the Pope, who at that time was very high, by reason of the frequent and violent Changes of Emperors in the East; and the very Soldiers in *Italy* having lately stood by him, in a Contest which he had with the Emperor; when he heard of that Statute, was very angry at it, and, in his Passion, writ to *Witiza*, to abrogate that Law, threatening, if he did not, to take his Kingdom from him.

Witiza, who had not been used to such Language, resented it highly, and did send the Pope back word, that he was preparing to visit him, with an Army at his heels; and would, to chastize his Insolence, plunder and sack the City of *Rome*, as his Ancestor *Alaricus* had done formerly.

Upon this brisk Answer of *Witiza's*, *Baronius* out of his great Officiousness to serve the Papal Authority, steps in, as that Pope's Champion, to maintain his Title to the Kingdom of *Spain*; and makes Proclamation, that among Pope *Gregory* the Seventh's Letters, which are in the *Vatican* Library, he had met with two directed to all the Princes who were willing to invade *Spain*, to drive the *Moors* out of it. In which Letters that Pope tells them, for their Encouragement, that he will grant them the Use of all the Countries in *Spain*, which they were able to recover from the *Moors*; but for the Property of

of those Countries, that he could not part with it to them, because it belonged to St. *Peter*, and to the See of *Rome*; Count *Euvlus de Roseio*, of whose great Fame they must needs all have heard, having many Ages before recovered *Spain* out of the Hands of *Pagans*, for the See of *Rome*; and from which See that Count had a Commission to Conquer that Country: Now that great Count *Euvlus de Roseio*'s Conquest of *Spain*, having been made many Years before *Witiza* was born, that Pope, upon *Witiza*'s having disobeyed him, had a right to deprive him of his Kingdom. What can it be, but a Curse on those that forge Papal Titles, that they have never yet forged one, though they have forged a great many, that has so much as an Appearance of Truth in it? For had it not been for that, why might not Pope *Gregory*, when he was forging a Title for his See to all *Spain*, have named the first *Gothick* King for the Prince that was employed by his Predecessors to recover that Country to St. *Peter*, and to his Successors, as easily as Count *Euvlus de Roseio*, whose Feats nor Name were never heard of by any Creature living, before they were mentioned by that Pope, in his Letters written on this Occasion, in the Year 1073. And were any Princes, besides the Western, since the World stood, ever abused or disturbed by such course Stuff as

this,

this, which the *Roman* Bishops were for some Hundreds of Years, continually trumping upon them? And which, if they that wove it, had no Opportunity of making use of themselves, they laid it up carefully in their Archives, hoping at one time or another that it might turn to some Account to their Successors. But to return,

Witiza, who had never heard any thing of Count *Euvlus* having conquer'd *Spain* for *St. Peter* and the See of *Rome*, being much surprized at the Pope's intruding himself so boldly into the Affairs of his Government; to put a full stop to that dangerous growing Power, he did convocate a Council at *Toledo*, of all the Bishops and Nobles of *Spain*, in the Year 704; and who being all met together, did, among other Things, which they ordered for the good Government of the Kingdom, declare and decree, *That the Bishop of Rome had no Authority in Spain neither in Church nor State*; for the sake of which Decree, all the Acts of that Council were long ago totally destroyed; and *Mariana* saith justly, for their having been contrary to the Ecclesiastical Laws: He means, I suppose, those which are now in *Spain*; for I believe it would puzzle him to find any Law there before, that they were contrary to.

But though the Popes, when they carried all before them in the West, were able to destroy

destroy all the Acts of that Council; they were not, it seems, able to extinguish the Memory of it; for *Rodericus Toletanus*, who lived in the thirteenth Century, speaking of *Witiza*, saith, he celebrated a Council with the Bishops and Nobles, in St. *Peter's* Church in the Suburbs of *Toledo*, about the Ordination of the Kingdom; but which is not in the Body of the Canons. He gives no reason why it was not there, nor does he take any Notice of the Pope's *Supremacy* having been condemned in it. *Loaisa* is of Opinion, that this Council was held whilst *Gonderick* was Archbishop of *Toledo*, who, as *Rodericus* saith, was Illustrious with the Gift of Sanctity, and yet more famous for the Miracles which he wrought. That Council must therefore have been celebrated in the beginning of *Witiza's* Reign, when it is certain that Archbishop died; and, if so, it had both a very good King, and a good Archbishop at the head of it: For *Witiza's* greatest Enemies do allow him to have been so then; and, had he not opposed the introducing the Pope's *Supremacy* into *Spain*, he might, in all Probability, have been allowed to have continued so till his Death; but, for that reason, he was of a sudden much changed for the worse; having as they say, in the latter Part of his Reign taken divers Wives or Concubines and given up himself and his Kingdom to

to Lasciviousness and Luxury ; and with which Vices, the Papal Champions do charge that Prince home, so confidently, that we should certainly have believed them, had we not known it to have been their Custom to treat all Princes so, right or wrong, that they are displeased with. So the Emperors, who opposed the bringing of Image-Worship into the Christian Church, are represented by them, sometimes as *Jews*, and sometimes as *Mahometans* ; nay, a certain Pope told one of those *Emperors*, that he was altogether as abominable as that wicked King of *Judah*, who broke the Brazen Serpent which had been made by *Moses* : So our King *John*, who had displeased them, was said to be much disposed to have turned *Mahometan* ; and for the same reason *Charles Martell* was very wicked, and had never repented, his Soul, after his Death, having been seen in Hell by a *Roman* Visionary. But what need we go either so far back, or so far from Home, for a plain Instance of their having much more regard for something else, than they have for Truth, in their Characters of Princes : For where it not so, would it have been possible for them to have represented *Mary* Queen of *Scots* as a Saint, and Queen *Elizabeth* as a Devil ? Besides, we know, that Lasciviousness and Luxury, which are the only Crimes they charge *Witiza* with,

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were

were thrown by them on all, at a venture, that opposed the Cœlibacy of the Clergy ; as if that Cœlibacy were the most sovereign Remedy in the World against those Vices. But let *Witiza* towards the latter end of his Reign, be as bad as they make him ; yet how can that reflect any dishonour upon a Council, which was celebrated in the beginning of his Reign, when they do all allow him to have been a very good Prince : But to grant as much as they can desire, which is, that this Council was called by *Witiza* when he was at his worst ; yet even then they do not make him near so bad as *Phocas* certainly was, when he established the *Papal Supremacy* by a Law : No, nor as the Empress *Irene* was, when she was the great Instrument of introducing Image-Worship into the Church.

Spain was conquered by the *Moors* within twelve Years after this great Council ; and since we do not read of any that was held after it, we may, I think, very well conclude that, the *Papal Supremacy* was never in the ancient *Spanish* Church, no more than it was in the ancient *British* ; and that, had not the Civil Governments those two ancient Churches were under, been dissolved by their being both conquered by Infidels, it is most probable, that That *Supremacy* might never have been able to have crept into either of those two Churches.

Baronius,

Baronius, who every where affirms, denies, and distinguisheth just as he is directed by the Interests of the *Papacy*, will not have, that the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority, but his civil Sovereignty over the Kingdom of *Spain*, was condemned in this Council: And which he saith was condemned in it upon *Witiza's* having refused to pay the Tribute for his Crown which was due to the *Roman* See, by Virtue of the Donation which was made by that See of all *Spain* to Count *Euvlus*: And though that Cardinal could not possibly but know the Tale of Count *Euvlus*, with all its Appurtenances, to be a meer Fable, yet to arm that Lye with a Thunderbolt according to his Custom, he makes bold both with Heaven and Crowns, in being very positive, that the *Moorish* Conquest of *Spain* was a Judgment upon her, for having in this Council, shaked off the *Papal* Sovereignty and Tribute; now this whole Story of Count *Euvlus*, and of the Tribute demanded by the Pope, of *Witiza*, for his Crown, though it is told so gravely by *Baronius*, is laughed at as a Romance, by all the *Spanish* Historians, who are unanimous, that the thing that was condemned in this Council, was the Bishop of *Rome's* pretending to such *Ecclesiastical* Authority in *Spain*, as to oblige her to repeal the Law which she had made, allowing the Clergy a Liberty to Marry. Let but the Pope in

whose muniment House in the *Vatican*, that *Papal* Donation of *Spain* is still preserved, demand that Tribute now of the King *Spain* for his Crown, and he will see that Prince, as dutiful a Son as he is, rather than pay it, give Pope *Gregory* the Lye in his Throat for his having forged it, and not at all afraid, that for his denying of it, *Spain* will be destroyed, as *Baronius* saith it was for its having been denied by *Witiza*.

And so small a Figure did the *Roman* See make in *Spain* in the seventh Century, that not so much as one of its Bishops, or any thing done by one of them, is so much as mentioned by *Isidore* in his *Chronicon*; in which all the *Christian* Emperors, and Councils, and all the great Affairs of *Christendom* are Recorded.

What a merciless persecuting Spirit was there in this Archbishop, at the time when he was just dropping into his Grave, being above fourscore Years of Age, when this inhumane Sermon was preached by him! but whatever other Gifts this old Persecutor might have, it is certain he had not the Gift of Prophecy, though he seems to pretend to it in this Sermon; when in the Name of God, he did assure *Spain*, that she should be visibly rewarded from Heaven with a prodigious Increase of Wealth and Strength, for her having expelled all the *Moriscoes*; it having visibly
fallen

fallen out quite otherwise ; *Spain* being by the loss of ſo vaſt a Multitude of laborious and induſtrious People, reduced to ſuch an Extremity of Miſery, that within twenty Years after the Expulſion, ſhe was by a *Junta* aſſembled together on purpoſe to conſider her ruinous Eſtate, reported to be ſo much depopulated, that ſhe was upon the very Point of falling flat upon the Ground ; neither is her condition much mended ſince that time ; the depriving a Country of the Work of ſome hundreds of thouſands of laborious People, being a loſs not to be repaired in one Age, if it ever be ; as in Truth it can never be to *Spain*, as long as all her publick Councils are governed by the Pope, and his Inquiſition, to the great diſgrace of the *Spaniards*, who, were it not for the ſuperſtitious Bondage they are in to that Prelate, and his Emiſſaries, would perhaps be one of the wiſeſt and moſt politick Nations in the World, neither would they have been capable of ſo ſhameful an Error in Government, as was this of expelling all the *Moriſcoes*.

There is yet one thing, if it wanted it, that would much confirm the *Papal Supremacy's* not having been known in *Spain* until after the ſeventh Century ; which is, the profound Silence there is of it in all the ancient *Spaniſh* Writers, particularly, in St. *Iſidore*, Biſhop of *Sevil*, a great many of whoſe Books

are still extant, and several of them on Subjects, that had he known any thing of such a *Supremacy's* having been established by Christ in the Church, he could not possibly but have spoke of it with full Cheeks, whereas it is never so much as once mentioned by him.

And so manifest it is, that *in Fact* the Bishops of *Rome* had no Authority in *Spain* untill after the seventh Century, that *Ambrosius Morales*, the most learned Antiquary of that Nation, was forced to acknowledge it; and whose honest Confession, in the 4th Chapter of his 12th Book, concerning this Matter, I shall here set down at length in his own Words.

Don Lucas de Tuyd, *saieth* Morales, *affirms*, that *St. Leander* was the *Pope's Legate* in this Council, (meaning the thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, celebrated in the Year 539.) and our Authors have since added, that he had that Dignity from *St. Gregory*: The *Pope's Legate St. Leander* might be in that Council, but not *Gregory's*, who was not *Pope* at that time: *Gelasius the Second* being then alive. Though after all, I do certainly believe, that no account was given to the *Pope* of the assembling of this Council, or of any of the Matters that were treated of in it; for had the *Pope* been consulted, or had he made *St. Leander* his Legate, as *De Tuyd* *saieth* he did, I doubt not but
mention

mention would have been made of it in this Council, which we have written at large, and with great diligence. And whereas this Council was thus assembled by the King's Command, and no account was given to the Pope of any thing that was done in it, or in any of the following Councils; as it is convenient that this Matter should be rightly understood, so this being the most proper place to speak of it, I reserved the doing of it till now, though I have touched on it before.

We have seen several times, and shall hereafter see much oftner, how the Gothick Kings did alone, and without ever consulting the Pope, commanded National Councils to be called, and in which they assembled all the Bishops within their Dominions; the Grandees of the Court and of the Palace did also by Custom, and as it were a Law, enter into those Assemblies; and by these Councils whatsoever was convenient for the Faith, and for all other Matters in Religion, was ordered; and what much increaseth the wonder of this, is, that Prelates of great Learning and Sanctity, such as St. Leander, and his Brother St. Illephonso, and others, did assist at many of those Councils; and that the Kings, even after they were Catholicks, and not Arians, did continue to do in this Matter, as they had done before; we see likewise how those Kings, did at their Pleasure place and displace Bishops, and many times for very light Causes,

Causes, without any mention of the Pope in any of those Affairs, or in any of the like Nature. By this we are compelled to believe, that whereas the Goths when they entered Spain, were Arians, and so did not acknowledge the Apostolical See of Rome, nor were subject to it ; so they did provide and ordain all Ecclesiastical Matters absolutely, and as they pleased ; and that having afterwards turned Catholicks, they still retained the Possession of the same Power, and went on with it as formerly ; and that the chief Pontiff did so far dissemble in this Matter, as to suffer things to go on so ; handling the fresh and tender Christianity among the Goths so delicately, as not to require any thing of them with Rigour, as he might have done, fearing lest he might thereby have caused some Alterations among them, which might have over-turned the Foundations of that Spiritual Edifice ; trusting in God that after that good Fabrick was raised higher, he might, by means of full Instruction, demand of them all that he might and ought to require. So far Morales.

We see here how this learned Spanish Antiquary was forced to acknowledge, that during the time of the Gothick Empire, or at least during the time of all the Spanish Councils that are extant, the last of which was celebrated in the Year 694 ; that in Fact the Bishop of Rome neither exercised, nor laid Claim to any Authority in the Spanish Church ;
and

and which, though at that time it abounded with Holy, Orthodox, and learned Bishops, yet not one of those Prelates did ever express the least Dissatisfaction with their being thus in an absolute Independency on the See of *Rome*: On the contrary, they met frequently together in Council, and did treat of, and decree Matters of Faith, as well as of Discipline, without ever consulting the Bishop of *Rome*, or giving him any account of any thing they had done relating to their own Church. This you see *Morales* acknowledgeth to have been *in Fact*, the State of the *Spanish* Church, until the beginning of the eighth Century.

But as this great Antiquary was, by an Evidence too strong to be resisted of its having been thus *in Fact*, obliged to make this honest Confession; so having made it, he was sensible that if he did not attempt to qualify it so, that it might be no Prejudice to the present Papal Pretensions, that it would draw the Thunder of the *Vatican* and of the *Inquisition* upon his Head; he did, for that Reason, make an offer at salving that Matter as much as he could, by the fore-mentioned Remark upon it; and which Remark may easily be demonstrated to be altogether insufficient to that purpose.

For *First*, Though the Kings of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, were Orthodox from the beginning,
yet

yet the Councils that were called by them, did not take any Notice of the Papal Authority, no more than those did which were called by the *Gothick* Kings.

Secondly, Neither did the Councils which were held in *Spain*, by the Orthodox Bishops, whilst their Kings were *Arians*, make any mention of that Authority.

Thirdly, If the *Arians* were not Subject to the See of *Rome*, as *Morales* affirmeth, and truly they were not, how came it to pass that the Orthodox, if they were all Subject to that See, did never charge the *Arians* with it, as an Heresy, or as any Error? But the Truth is, were there nothing else to prove that the *Papal Supremacy*, no more than *Transubstantiation*, could possibly be the received Doctrines of the Primitive Church, but only this, that in the long ancient Catalogues which we have of Hereticks, there is not one charged either with Heresy, or with Error, for having denied either of those two Points; this alone would, I think, go a great way to prove it: And it will I conceive puzzle the subtillest Head in the *Roman* Church, to give any reason why two Doctrines of so high a Nature, and with such slender Foundations in the Scripture, should solely have escaped having their Truth called in question; besides this, of those two Doctrines not having
been

been believed, nor so much as thought of in the first Ages of Christianity.

Fourthly, From the time of the third Council of *Toledo*, celebrated in the Year 589, in which the *Arian* Heresy was solemnly renounced by King *Recaredus*, until the seventeenth Council of that City, celebrated in the Year 694, the *Gothick* Kings were all Catholics, and were in all Points reckoned to be Orthodox, by the whole Christian World: Wherefore since none of those Kings did ever acknowledge the Pope's *Supremacy*, nor did the *Spanish* Church acknowledge it during all their Reigns, as *Morales* confesseth, it necessarily followeth, that in those Primitive Ages, Princes and Churches were esteemed Catholic, and perfectly Orthodox, without being Subject to the See of *Rome*.

Lastly, As to the Reason which *Morales* gives, for the Popes not having laid any Claim to an Authority over the *Spanish* Church in a hundred Years after her Kings and Bishops were all Orthodox; that reason, must either make the Popes, during all that time, to have been guilty of wicked and most abominable Diffimulation; or must make the acknowledging and submitting to the Authority of the *Roman* See, not to be a thing necessary to Salvation: For though in Matters, wherein Salvation is not concerned, a prudent Connivance may be a great Virtue
in

in Church Governours ; it is not so, but a wicked Compliance, in Matters necessary to Salvation : And such a Matter the *Roman* Church will now have a Submission to her Authority to be ; and will swear, that without that, Christians, let them be never so Orthodox in all other Points, and never so Holy, cannot be saved.

The Bishop of *Fano* therefore, to avoid this Dilemma, did at one breath, damn all the ancient *Spanish* Councils, which had been so long, and so highly revered, as *Schismatical Assemblies* ; and consequently, condemned all the *Princes*, and *Holy Bishops* that assisted at them as *Schismatics* : And thus *Diana's* which want Arguments to prove their Divinity, must have it upheld with Noise, and terrible Denunciations, and which must be the louder for their being groundless.

Now the *Spanish* Bishops not having taken any Notice of the Papal Authority in a hundred Years after their Kings were Orthodox, in any of the fifteen National Councils which were called by those Kings ; as it demonstrates *Morales's* Confession to be true, so it likewise demonstrates the Reason he gives, to have no Weight in it.

The true Reason therefore, in my Opinion, of the Papal Authority's not having been taken Notice of in *Spain* during all that time, was, the *Spanish* Bishops having been thoroughly

ly instructed in the *Institutes*, and *Canons* of the four General, and of all the other Primitive Councils ; and by which *Institutes* and *Canons*, as is manifest from the thirteenth Council of *Toledo*, the *Spanish* Church did govern her self wholly, as to all Matters of Faith, and very much in Matters of Discipline ; and to this perfect Knowledge of the Primitive Councils, to which the rest of the Western Churches seemed to have been Strangers, the *Spanish* Church was helped, by a certain Ecclesiastick, whose Name was *Martin*, who was a *Greek* by Nation ; this St. *Martin*, for so the *Spaniards* stile him, was first made Bishop of *Dumien*, by *Theodominus* King of the *Suevi* in *Galicia*, who was Orthodox, as were all the Kings of the *Suevi* in *Spain*, as I have observed before ; and which King having called a Council at *Braga*, in the Year 560, St. *Martin* the *Greek* assisted at it, as he did also at the Council of *Lugo* ; and having been afterwards, by the same King, made Bishop of *Braga*, he presided in the Council which was called in that City, in the Year 572, by King *Ariomirus*, Son to *Theodominus*, in all which Councils, a Collection of the *Institutes* and *Canons* of the Primitive Councils, made by St. *Martin*, and which he translated into *Latin* for the use of the *Spanish* Church, was read and received,
and

and which is still extant, at the end of the second Council of *Braga*.

And since this *Martin* was so great a Blessing to the *Spanish* Church, I will here present the Reader with what *St. Isidore* writes concerning him.

Martin the most Holy Bishop of the Dumien Monastery, saith Isidore, having come from the East into Galicia, and converted the People of the Suevi from the Arian Impiety to the Catholick Faith; he instituted a Rule of Faith, and of Holy Religion; and did likewise instruct the Ecclesiasticks, and build Monasteries, and compose copious Precepts of pious Institution. And in the tenth Council of Toledo, this learned Greek Bishop is said to have contracted all the Oriental Councils, into a Compendium.

Now could the *Spanish* Church, which was thus governed by the Primitive Councils, take any Notice of the *Papal Supremacy*, which is no where mentioned in them; or do otherwise than reject it, when it first put in its Claim in the beginning of the eighth Century.

And here I cannot but observe, that among all the National Churches now in the World, there is not one so much in that State the ancient *Spanish* Church was in, as the Church of *England*; and in which primitive and excellent Estate, may God preserve her, until the whole Catholick Church, is in one Church

Church triumphant in Heaven. For as these two Churches were plainly of the same Mind, as to the Royal and *Papal Supremacy*; so it will not, I conceive, be a hard Matter to prove them to have been unanimous in all the other Substantials of Faith and Worship: And which Parallel I have Thoughts of drawing, if I be not prevented in it by some able Pen, as I heartily wish I may; not for the sparing of my own Pains, but for the sake of our Church, to which *Popery* will always be a dangerous Enemy.

After this plain Account of the *Papal Supremacy's* never having been in *Spain* until after the Year 714, when it was conquered by the *Moors*; the Reader may perhaps be willing to see all that can be objected against the Truth of this Account; I shall therefore to gratify him, briefly and honestly lay before him, all that I know that can be objected against it. And to prepare him to entertain the Papal Evidences in this Cause as they deserve, it is fit that he should know beforehand, that they are all spurious; and that, excepting the Decretal Epistles, though they were all genuine, they would not prove the Point for which they are produced.

And here not to insist on that Concession which was made by the Bishop of *Fano* publicly, concerning this Matter, in the Council of *Trent*, and that to make his Court to
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the Pope ; the *first* thing that is objected is, that the Decretal Epistles which were written by the Bishop of Rome, one after another, until the fifth Century, do expressly affirm the *Papal Supremacy* to have been in *Spain* ever since it was *Christian* : And as those Epistles are very clear as to this Point, so from the beginning of the eighth Century, until after the Reformation, the Authority of those Epistles was never called in Question ; during all which Ages they were reckoned to be equal, if not superior, to the Decrees of the Councils of the Church : And with which they were, for that Reason, commonly bound up. So in all the Manuscripts of the Councils *Loaisa* made use of, he tells us, he found the Decretal Epistles still in the same Book with them ; nay, even since the Reformation, after their Authority had been rejected by the *Magdeburgenses*, *Turrianus*, one of the first Jesuits, and who was a learned Man, was employed to defend them ; and which he did in ten Books, with great Fury, and with something else that shall be nameless, and which was not Ignorance. After him *Binnius*, who has published all those Decretal Epistles in his Collection of the Councils, does not only applaud *Turrianus* for what he had done, but does himself also attempt to maintain that they be all genuine.

But

But though there could be no doubt of the *Papal Supremacy's* having been in the *Spanish*, and in all other Churches, if those Epistles were genuine, the *Papal Supremacy* being their Burden; our Comfort is, that one would not think it possible, for any Body to read those Epistles, and afterwards to doubt of their being suppositious: For none can read them, and not feel that they were all writ with one and the same dull Pen, and that they are all full of barbarous Words and Phrases, which were not known in the Ages when they are said to have been written. And though the Man that forged them, whoever he was, was so much an Antiquary, as to know, that when they were said to have been written, the Custom was in the Date of Letters, to name the Consuls of the Year; yet so unfortunate was that poor Wretch, as scarce ever once to name the right Consuls. But must not the Forgery of Writings, which do highly advance the *Papal Authority*, and which were for some Ages its chief Glory and Support, be palpable indeed, when *Baronius* shall be forced to acknowledge it; as he does the Decretal Epistles having been forged, in his Annals on the Year 865: And after him Cardinal *Bona*, whose Words concerning those Epistles, in the third Chapter of his first Book of Liturgies, I shall here set down, and so dismiss those gross Impostures.

It has been long observed, by the Learned, faith that Cardinal, that the Decretal Epistles were all forged by some Spaniard, under the Name of Isidore, whoever he was, towards the End of the seventh Century ; they were forged with a pious Fraud, out of the Sentences of the Old Canons, and of the Civil Laws, and of the Holy Fathers, who flourished in the fourth Century ; they are, for the most part, full of vile chronological Mistakes, and are all almost writ in the same Stile and Character of Writing : Riculphus, Bishop of Mentz, first brought them out of Spain into France, from whence they were disseminated over all other Countries, and were commonly believed. If he had pleased, he might have said universally ; for before the Reformation, he would certainly have been punished as an Heretick, that should in the least have questioned their being genuine ; being the only Channel of Tradition the Church of Rome had for her Supremacy ; and which, not being so much as mentioned in the Scriptures, can have nothing but Tradition to stand upon. And the Truth is, the supplying of the great want of that Tradition, was the only Motive to the forging the Decretal Epistles ; and which were not published under the Name of Isidore, as Bona intimates, for that would have spoiled the whole Plot ; but as the genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of Rome, whose Names are prefixed to them. Neither
has

has it fared any better with *Constantine's* Donation, of which the Bishops of *Rome* made so great use to establish their Authority in *Italy*; which Donation, the Plague of Learning being got into the West, for nothing else could have done it, *Baronius* was forced to confess likewise to be a gross Imposture; and not only so, but to affirm, that it was forged by the *Greeks*, and in Malice to the *Roman* Church: Which is a strange turn indeed, considering that not much above two hundred Years ago, when Learning began to dawn in the West, the Learned *Valla* brought himself into great Trouble, and was, if I am not much mistaken, imprisoned in *Italy* as an Heretick, for having proved that Donation to be a Forgery. But the Papal Authority, being with time, and a thousand Frauds, now grown strong enough to stand alone, without the Crutches she made use of when she was weak; she suffers her Champions, now that those Writings cannot, without reflecting upon her Honour, be maintained to be genuine with the same Zeal they were in the Days of Ignorance, to part with them as Forgeries, for their being palpably so: But withal, contrary to Matter of Fact, to deny at the same time, that she had any hand in the forging of those Writings; or did ever make use of their Authority, to introduce and support her *Supremacy* in the Western Church.

A *Second* thing that may be objected, is, the Letter which was written by Pope *Innocent* the First, to a Council assembled in *Toledo*; and which Letter, *Loaisa* saith, must have been sent to the first Council which met in that City; and for that Reason he has inserted it into its Acts; the second Council in that City not having met until near a hundred Years after Pope *Innocent's* Death.

First, This, with twenty more Epistles which are published under Pope *Innocent* the First's Name, are proved to be spurious, by *Erasmus*, and many other Criticks.

Secondly, Though it is pretended in this Letter, that *Innocent* had been Bishop of *Rome* some Years before he writ it, it is certain he was not chosen Pope until at least two Years after that Council was dissolved: So that it could be nothing but *Loaisa's* being unwilling to let those Councils come Abroad, without any Appearances of the Bishops of *Rome* having had any concern in them, that could have tempted him to have annexed that forged Letter to the Acts of that Council.

A *Third* thing that may be objected, is That in the *Preface* before that Rule of Faith which *Loaisa* has annexed to the first Council of *Toledo*, the Bishops say, that they were ordered by *Leo*, Pope of the City of *Rome* to send the Rule of Faith to *Balcomius* Bishop of *Galicia*.

To this I answer. *First*, If, all that is said here of Pope *Leo* were true, it would amount to no more, than what any foreign Bishop, whose Name was high for Learning and Piety, as *Leo's* was, might have done; nor was it more than St. *Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* did, in this very Council.

Secondly, How could Pope *Leo*, order the Bishops, by whom the Rule of Faith was made, to send it to *Balcomius*; seeing, if it was made by the first Council of *Toledo*, it must have been made forty Years before he was Pope; which he was not before the Year 440, whereas that Council was held in the Year 400.

Thirdly, *Balcomius* was not, till twelve Years after that Council, Bishop of *Galicia*; and being so then, considering that none in those Days were made Bishops, and especially Metropolitans, until they were Ancient, *Balcomius* must have lived to an unusual Age, to be Contemporary with Pope *Leo*.

Lastly, Since that *Preface* saith, that the Rule of Faith that followeth it was made in a Council of *Toledo*, and we do not meet with any Council in that City that could have made it with that *Preface*, no Council having met in *Toledo* in forty Years before or after Pope *Leo's* time; I do therefore vehemently suspect that Rule of Faith to have been made some Ages after the first Council of *Toledo*, and to which it was annexed by

Loaisa, for no other Reason, but because it was the Council of that City that was the nearest to Pope *Leo's* time, though it was dissolved forty Years before he was Pope: And yet notwithstanding that, it is very plain, that he that made that *Preface* would have had the World to have believed, that the Rule of Faith which followeth it, was made by the first Council of *Toledo*; for he saith in that *Preface*, that the Council which made it, and, by Pope *Leo's* Order, sent it to *Balcominus*, did likewise make the above-written twenty Canons, which is exactly the Number of Canons that were made by the first Council of *Toledo*: Which, I think, does sufficiently discover that *Preface* to be a blundering Forgery. And as to the Rule of Faith it self, there is one thing that makes me strongly suspect it not to have been made by that Council, which is, that the Holy Ghost is said expressly to proceed from the Father and the Son; which Addition was not, I conceive, added to the Creed, by two hundred Years so soon as the first Council of *Toledo*.

A *Fourth* thing that may be objected, is, That in the *Preface* to the first Council of *Braga*, this Story concerning Pope *Leo* is repeated, and with an Addition of that Pope's having sent his Writings against the *Priscillian* Sect, to a Council in *Galicia*, by *Theoribius* the Notary of his See,

To this I answer, *First*, That if the fore-mentioned Rule of Faith be of a later Date than this Council, as probably it is, this Story, which is taken out of its *Preface*, must have been foisted into this, to give it some Credit. And as to the new Circumstance added to that Story, in this *Preface*, that does not at all make for its being genuine.

For *First*, *Theoribius*, who is stiled by Pope *Leo*, Bishop; and by *Montanus* Archbishop of *Toledo*, the most Blessed and Religious Bishop; is, in this *Preface*, called the *Notary* of Pope *Leo's* See; an Office too low for any Bishop: And of the Improbability of this *Baronius* is so sensible, that he saith *Notarius* there, cannot signify that *Theoribius* was a *Notary* of the *Roman* See, but that he was to report and *notify* to that See all that passed in that Council; which being a new Signification of the Word *Notarius*, that Cardinal ought to have given one single Instance at least where it had been used so: And so he would, I suppose, if he had been able.

Secondly, *Montanus*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, in a Letter which he writ to the Clergy of *Palencia*, to watch the *Priscilian* Heresy, and which is extant in the second Council of *Toledo*, tells them of Bishop *Theoribius* having published Books against that Sect, and which were sent by him to *Leo* Bishop of *Rome*; but saith not a Word of *Leo's* having sent his Writings against that Sect to *Theoribius*,

or into *Spain*: Though if *Leo* had done that, and the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority had then been high in that Country, nothing could have been so much for *Montanus*'s Purpose in that Letter, as to have spoke of it at large.

Lastly, As I have observed already, there was no Council in *Galicia*, nor in any other Part of *Spain*, within forty Years of Pope *Leo*'s Time.

A *Fifth* Thing that may be objected, is, Pope *Leo*'s long Decretal Epistle to *Theoribius*, in which that Pope writes, that he had ordered a Council to be called in *Spain*. Now since this Decretal Epistle of *Leo*'s is the ground-work of this whole Story, it may be convenient to enquire whether it be not spurious.

First, This Decretal Epistle of *Leo*'s has no Date to it; which is but an ill Sign, considering that Pope, in all or most of his genuine Letters, was very exact in his Dates of them, and in naming the Consuls of the Year.

Secondly, We see *Montanus* did take no Notice of that long Epistle, when he had great Occasion for to have done it.

Thirdly, We find that Letters of the very same Stamp were counterfeited in *Spain*, and fathered upon Pope *Leo*; witness the Decretal Epistle to the Bishop of the Province of *Tours*, which *Sirmondus* saith was forged by a *Spaniard*, and taken out of the Acts of the Council

Council of *Sevil*. The Sermon also on the Nativity of St. *Vincent*, a *Spanish* Martyr, which goes under *Leo's* Name, was coined in the same rich Mint, for in the eighth Century *Spain* was such for Forgeries.

Fourthly, In that Decretal Epistle, the Holy Ghost is said to proceed from the Father and the Son ; which Doctrine, I have shewed, was not received by the Bishops of *Rome*, until some hundreds of Years after *Leo's* Death, into their Creed. Neither does it appear, that in a long time after *Leo*, it was received by any of his Successors, as a sound Doctrine ; though it certainly is, and had before that, been affirmed by some of the *Latin* Fathers. Now this last Evidence of that Decretal Epistle's being spurious, is made use of by *Baronius*, to prove that *Filioque* was added to the Creed in *Spain* by the Bishop of *Rome's* Order.

To which I answered. *First*, If Pope *Leo* was for having that Addition made to the Creed in *Spain*, why did he not add it at the same time to the *Roman* Creed, to which we see it was not added in many Ages after ?

Secondly, *Leo's* Successors for so many Ages, did either know that he had ordered that Addition to be made to the Creed in *Spain*, or they did not know it ; if they knew it, and at the same time blamed its having been made, and refused to admit it into their Creed, as we see they did, they must then have

have reckoned *Leo* to have erred in *Cathedra*, in giving wrong Directions about a Matter of Faith: And if they did not know it, which is most probable, how came *Baronius* to discover it eight hundred Years after. If it be said, from this Decretal Epistle; I answer, Though that Doctrine is in this Epistle, there is no command in it to *Theoribius*, or to any Body else in *Spain*, to add it to the Creed; *Leo's* Successors must therefore either never have seen this Epistle, or not have been able to have discovered that Command in it; or they must not have looked on it, to be Pope *Leo's* Letter. But most certain it is, that this Decretal Epistle had lurked so close, as never to have been seen or heard of, by the *French* Bishop, and Abbot, who were sent by the Emperor *Charles* the Great to Pope *Leo* the Third, to persuade him to receive *Filioque* into the *Roman* Creed: For, as in that long Conference which they had with *Leo* about it, and which is still extant, they used all the Arguments they could think of to persuade that Pope to admit that Addition; so they did take no Notice of Pope *Leo* the First having either commanded that Addition to be made to the Creed in *Spain*, or of his having in any of his Epistles delivered that for sound Doctrine; which alone, if they had used it, would have done them more service than all their other Arguments put together.

Lastly,

Lastly, If this Letter of *Leo's* were certainly genuine, it could only prove that, which no Body ever doubted of, *viz.* that *Leo* was very forward to extend the Authority of his own See; but it could not prove, that the *Spanish* Bishops did submit to his Command so far as to call a Council presently in Obedience to it; neither is it any where said that they did: But supposing a Council, whose Acts, and very Name are lost, had been assembled in *Spain* about that time, why must that Council needs have been called in Obedience to this Letter of *Leo's* to a private Bishop; and not, as all the *Spanish* Councils were that are extant, upon the Prince and the Bishops, among themselves, having judged such an Assembly to be necessary; and that without taken any more Notice of the Pope, than of the Bishop of *Eugubium*; and which we are certain was the Case of all the ancient *Spanish* Councils that are extant.

I have dwelt the longer on this Letter, because, besides those in the Decretal Epistles, which must always be accepted, it contains the only Claim, that I have met with, made by any Bishop of *Rome* to an Authority over the *Spanish* Church, until after the seventh Century.

A *Sixth* thing that may be objected, is, Pope *Gregory's* two Letters, the one to *Recaredus* King of *Spain*, and the other to *Leander* Archbishop of *Sevil*; in both which Letters
Gregory

Gregory takes Notice of his having sent *Leander* a Pall.

I answer, Were these two Letters certainly genuine, they would be to all that know any thing of the Man they were writ by, and the occasion of them, a strong Evidence of the Papal Supremacy not having been in *Spain* at the time when they were written: For as no Pope was ever more forward to magnify the Authority of his See than this *Gregory*, so the Occasion of his having writ these Letters, if they were written by him, was, King *Recaredus* having been converted from the *Arian* Heresy to the *Catholick* Faith; on which Occasion, though the Writer of these Letters rejoiceth very much, yet he has not one word in them of the King's making his Submission to the See of *Rome*, nor of his being admitted into the Bosom of the Church by the Authority of that See; nor of any of those Things which the Popes, where their Supremacy has been owned, have constantly required on all such Occasions: For besides that of the Pall, there is not in both those Letters any Intimation of the Bishop of *Rome's* having any Authority in *Spain*. And as to that of the Pall, though that might have been an Argument of *Gregory's* having had a mind to have given a beginning to the introducing of the Papal Authority into *Spain*; yet it could be no Argument of that Authority's having been there

at

at that time ; since neither the King nor the Archbishop did ever, that we read of, send to *Rome* to desire a Pall, nor does the Writer of those Letters say they did ; nor do we find that they did ever thank *Gregory* for it : But whatever *Gregory's* Design might have been in sending that Pall, it is certain that it wrought no change in *Spain*, as to the *Papal Authority* ; for as before, so after this, there were above twenty Councils held in that Kingdom, and two or three of them by *Recaredus*, not one of which Councils was either called by the Pope, or had its Decrees, relating to Matters of Faith, confirmed by him ; nor is there in any of them any mention of the Exercise of the *Papal Authority* in *Spain*. Furthermore, *Recaredus*, if he ever did write to the Bishop of *Rome*, was it seems in no great haste to write to him ; for he had been converted and reconciled to the Church, and had held a Council in *Toledo*, which consisted of seventy-two Bishops, and in which the *Arian* Heresy was condemned, above ten Years before this Letter was writ, which bears Date the second Indiction. *Mariana* being sensible that *Recaredus's* having delayed Writing to the Pope so long after his Conversion, and his having in the mean time called Councils wherein Matters of Faith were Decreed, was a sign that the *Roman* See was not at that time much regarded in *Spain* ; he thinks to solve the Matter, by saying,

ing, the Envoys, by whom *Recaredus*, presently after he was converted, did send his Letters to *Rome*, and to which Letters this Epistle was an Answer, having met with stormy Weather, had a very tedious Voyage of it; and so they must indeed if they were ten Years in their Journey betwixt *Spain* and *Rome*. But as the *Ptolemaick* Astronomers invented *Cycles*, and *Epicycles*, to supply the Defects in their *Hypothesis*; just so the *Roman* Champions devise whatsoever is possible to to serve theirs; as if a thing's being barely possible, though, I think, this Journey is hardly so, did make it credible.

But though it would be to the Advantage of the first Proposition affirmed in this Dissertation, That these Letters were genuine, yet I cannot but say that I do strongly suspect that they are spurious.

For *First*, The stile in these Letters, seems not to be the same with *Gregory's*.

Secondly, In the Councils of *Spain* which were held about this time, there is no mention of these Letters, nor of any thing that is contained in them; no, nor of *Recaredus*, or *Leander's* Letters, to which they pretend to be Answers.

In the *Fourth* Council of *Toledo*, there is mention indeed of *Leander's* having writ to the Pope, but it was not for a Pall, but concerning the Ceremony of the three Dippings in Baptism; and, about which, *Leander* writ

to

to *Gregory*, not as Bishop of *Rome*, but as to the most Learned Doctor of that Age ; or, as it is worded by that Council, as to one who had illustrated the Church with his great Learning.

Thirdly, In the Letter to *Recaredus*, that King is told of two Keys being sent to him, which had been touched by St. *Peter's* Body, and that in one of them there was some of the Filings of the Chain that Saint was bound with, when he was Crucified ; but which would loose him from all his Sins : Now I can hardly think that in *Gregory's* Days any Relick whatsoever was believed to have so much Virtue in it : We meet, it is true, with mention of the same sort of Relick, and with the same Witicism upon it, in another Letter that goes under that Pope's Name ; but who can vouch for that Letter's being genuine more than for this, or indeed for the major Part of the Letters which are published under that Pope's Name ; the Forgers of Writings having made more use of this *Gregory's* Name, than of the Names of all the other Popes put together.

Lastly, It may be objected, that the thirteenth Council of *Toledo* was assembled at the Request of Pope *Leo* the Second, upon his having sent the *Institutes* of the second Council of *Constantinople* to the *Spanish* Bishops.

I answer, This is all true, and, being so, it affords us a very plain Proof of the
Bishop

Bishop of *Rome's* not having any Authority in *Spain* at that time.

For *First*, The *Spanish* Bishops, when they met in this Council, speaking of that Pope's Letter to them, do say, that he had *invited* them, but not that he had *commanded* them to receive those *Institutes*.

Secondly, Though those *Institutes* had been recommended to them by that Pope, as the Decrees of a general Council, they declared that the *Spanish* Church was under no Obligation to receive them, before they were approved of and confirmed in a Council of her own Bishops.

Thirdly, When those *Institutes* were received, they declared that they received them so far and no farther than they agreed with the Councils of *Nice*, *Constantinople*, *Ephesus*, and *Calcedon*; without taking any Notice of the Pope's Authority by whom those *Institutes* had been sent to them.

Lastly, This Council ends with a solemn Relation of Thanks to God, and to the King, by whom it was called, without any mention of the Pope.

But this Affair rested not here; for *Julianus*, Bishop of *Toledo*, having, on this Occasion, with the Approbation of all his Brethren, affirmed, 1st, That in *Deo voluntas genuit voluntatem, sicut sapientia sapientiam*; and 2^{dly}, *Quod in Christo erant tres Substantiæ*; with two Heads more, which are not named;

named ; Pope *Benedict*, who succeeded *Leo* the Second, being offended with those four Heads, he signified so much to the *Spanish* Bishops, hoping by such means to have by Degrees riggled his Authority into *Spain* : But that Pope was much mistaken in the Men he had to deal with ; for in the fifteenth Council of *Toledo*, the *Spanish* Bishops were so far from recanting any of those four Heads, upon that Pope's having declared that he was displeased with them, that, on the contrary, they justified them all ; and in such a manner as demonstrated that they had no regard to the *Roman* Bishop in any Matter of Doctrine, any farther than as he agreed with the Primitive Fathers.

For having proved the two first Heads at large to be Orthodox, from the general Councils, and from *St. Athanasius*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Austin*, *St. Cyril*, and others ; they branded all that would not submit to their Authority in that Matter, with the infamous Mark of impudent and insolent Scrutators.

And as to the two last Heads, they did, without naming them, say, That not only their Sense, but almost their very Words were taken from the most Blessed *St. Ambrose*, and *Fulgentius* ; and of which two Doctors they said on that Occasion, *Quod omne quod contra illos sapitur, à rectæ fidei regula abhorrere sentitur.*

E

What

What would not the Church of *Rome* give to have had the same said by the ancient *Spanish* Church of any of her Bishops? And how impudent a thing, after such a Confession, would she have reckoned it in any one in the least to have questioned that ancient Church having believed Her to be infallible in all Matters of Faith? And yet neither She nor no Christian Church else, do from hence conclude, that the ancient *Spanish* Church believed either St. *Ambrose*, or *Fulgentius*, or their Sees of *Milan* and *Raspis*, to be Infallible. Though I do not think there is in all Antiquity any Proof equal to this, of the Bishop of *Rome's* having been believed to be so; no more than there is in the Scriptures any Testimony of St. *Peter's* having been the sole universal Pastor of the Church, equal to that of St. *Paul's* having said of himself, *Besides those that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the Care of all the Churches.*

But so far were the *Spanish* Bishops, on this Occasion, from saying as much of the Pope they were contending with, or of any of his Predecessors, that at parting they gave him a Blow, which shews manifestly how little they regarded his Authority; concluding their Vindication of the *four Heads* that Pope was offended at, with the following Repri-
mand.

Jam

Jam vero, si post hæc & ab ipsis dogmatibus Patrum, quibus hæc prolata sunt, in quocunque dissentiant; non jam cum illis est amplius contendendum: Sed Majorum directo calle inherentes vestigiis, erit per Divinum judicium, Amatoribus Veritatis Responsio nostra sublimis; etiam si ab ignorantibus æmulis sentiatur indocilis.

And, as this is the first time we find the Bishop of *Rome* thrusting his Sickle into the *Spanish* Harvest; so, would it not have been more for the Honour, both of that Bishop, and of his See, to have forborn doing of it, until, by his common Arts, he had disposed the *Spanish* Clergy to think he had some Authority over them?

But as this Transaction being recorded at length in the fifteenth Council of *Toledo*, made it too publick for *Baronius* to pass it over in Silence, so, for that reason, he mentions it in the Year 685, but in such a manner, and in so great haste to get to the end of it, that one sees plainly that he found it too hot for him to handle: And all that he offers to fetch off the Pope upon this Repulse, is, That the Pope was for having transacted this Matter with the *Spanish* Bishops amicably, and in a way of Charity, and not of Authority; to which wretched and humble Shift this Annalist was driven, by his perceiving plainly, that if the Pope did use any Authority in this

Matter, his Authority was much slighted ; and, for that reason, and no other, he will not have him to have used any. Whereas, had the *Spanish* Bishops happened to have been in the wrong, and to have acknowledged that they were mistaken in those four Heads the Pope found fault with, we should then have had *Baronius* vapour with their having recanted what they had before established, barely upon the Bishop of *Rome*, whom they believed to be Infallible in all Matters of Faith, having interposed his Authority, and declared all those Heads to be Errors : And we should have had this whole Transaction pompously displayed in more Pages than he bestows Lines upon it now, carrying his Pope from it very abruptly, and in great haste, as far as *Antioch*.

And is it any wonder, that a Church, which in the Year 688, shewed so little respect to the Bishop of *Rome's* Authority in Matters relating to Faith ; should in the Year 704, when that Bishop laid a bare-faced Claim to a Supremacy over her, reject that new and bold Claim with Indignation ? As we have before observed she did in the eighteenth Council of *Toledo*, whose Acts the Pope for that reason has taken Care to suppress : For there having been but sixteen Years betwixt those two Councils, many of the Bishops who were present at the First, probably

probably assisted at the Second ; and whose Acts, could they be recovered, would give the Papacy a Wound as deep as that which was given it by the twenty-eighth Canon of the General Council of *Calcedon* ; and which Canon, had it not been preserved by the *Greeks*, would never have been heard of in the Western Churches ; there being no mention of it in any of the Manuscripts, *Greek* or *Latin*, which were in the West before the Reformation. *Tantæ molis erat, Romanum condere Papam.*

This is all that I know that can be objected against what I have affirmed concerning the *Papal Supremacy's* not having been acknowledged or exercised in *Spain*, until after the beginning of the eighth Century ; unless it be, that here and there in those Councils honourable mention is made of the Bishop of *Rome*, and of his See : So in the first Council of *Toledo*, *Syricius* Bishop of *Rome* is named, but in the same place *St. Ambrose* Bishop of *Milan* is named with him, and before him : And in the third Council of *Toledo*, the Synodical Epistles of the Bishop of *Rome* are joyned with the Decrees of the Councils, but that was because those Epistles did contain the same Doctrine in them, which was decreed by those Synods ; and for the same Reason, honourable mention is made in the same Council, of the Synodical Epistles

of St. Cyril Bishop of *Alexandria*: And as to the See of *Rome* being in three or four Places of these Councils, stiled the *Apostolical* See; it is plain, that all *Episcopal* Sees, as well as that of *Rome*, were stiled *Apostolical* Sees, by the ancient *Spanish* Bishops. So *Martin*, Bishop of *Braga*, begins that Letter of his to *Nitigius* Bishop of *Lucus*, now *Oviedo*, which is extant in the Acts of the second Council of *Braga*, thus, *Domino Beatissimo, atque Apostolicæ Sedis honore suscipiendo, &c.*

But, as a wise *Spanish* Historian did caution Princes against sending any Presents to Popes, because they are very forward to look on all Presents that are made them, as Tributes; or at least to Record them to have been so, for the use of their Successors; so Princes and all others, had need be careful how they complement Popes with high Titles, who have so often scrued Expressions of common Civility, up to real Acknowledgements of their *Supremacy*.

But honourable mention having been made here and there in those Councils of some of the Bishops of *Rome*, and of their See; is so far from being any Advantage to their *Supremacy* in this Case, that it is quite otherwise; in shewing, that it was not from any Displeasure the *Spanish* Princes had conceived against the Popes and their See, that they exercised no Authority in any of their Councils; but

was

was purely from the *Spanish* Princes and Bishops, not believing, nor dreaming of the Bishop of *Rome's* having a *Supremacy* in their Church.

I shall add but one Word more, and that is, That to lay open the Arts and Practices by which the *Roman Supremacy* crept into *Spain*, upon that Country having been slowly recovered out of the Hands of the *Moors*, by the Christians; and who, for the most part, were not *Spaniards*; for we read the *Spanish* Christians who had all along continued under those Infidels, when they came to have Christian Princes again, were not much disposed to submit themselves to the *Roman See*; would be a Work worthy of the Pains of any Learned *Ecclesiastical Antiquary*, that is at Leisure to go about it.

To conclude, as the *Papal Supremacy* was a thing not known in the ancient *Gothick Spanish Church*: So that the *Popish Doctrines* of *Transubstantiation*, and of *Purgatory*, and of *Praying to Angels and Saints*, and of *Adoring Images*, and of *Auricular Confessions*, &c. were as little known in her; may, I conceive, easily be proved from her *Records*, which are extant; if any that have Leisure and Abilities would go about it; and who cannot, in my Opinion, employ their Time and Talents about a Work that would do the Church of *England* a more substantial Service;

vice ; which thereby would appear to be the same in Doctrine with that ancient famous Church, which was undoubtedly of the same Faith with the *British Church*, in those Ages ; the so much lamented Loss of whose ancient *Records*, is in a good measure repaired by those of a contemporary *Western Church*, and to which we have reason to believe a *British Princess* was a great Benefactor. *Badda*, Queen to *Reccoredus*, the first Orthodox *Gothick* King of *Spain*, and who, under God, might probably be the great Instrument of her Husband's Conversion to the true *Christian Faith* ; and who for that reason did, together with her Husband, subscribe the *Constantinopolitan Creed*, which is before the third Council of *Toledo*, held in the Year 589 ; being by the *Spanish Historians*, said to be the Daughter of the *British King Arthur* ; and whose Subscription to that Creed runs thus :

I Badda, the glorious Queen, do with my Hand, from my whole Heart, subscribe this Faith, which I have believed and received.

And which she must have done from her Childhood, if she was King *Arthur's* Daughter ; the *Arian* Heresy having never had any footing in *Britain* that we read of.

A H I S-

A
HISTORY
OF THE
Pope's Behaviour
TOWARDS
PORTUGAL,

From the Year 1641, until the Year
1666 ; with Reference to his grant-
ing of Bishops to that Kingdom,
and to its Conquests.

T H E

P R E F A C E.

TWO things, of no small Use, are very remarkable in this History; the one is, how great an Unhappiness it is to any Nation, to be Subject to the Pope: And the other is, That the Papacy, which boldly tells the World she is directed immediately by the Spirit of God in her Government of the Church; and which Cant is believed by many People; is much rather directed in it, by the Spirit of Machiavel, or by the same Spirit, which the Governments of the World, that have the least Regard to Religion in all that they do, are governed by: Earthly Hopes, and Fears, and Carnal Affections, with Reference to its own Temporal Security and Advancement, having been visibly the Springs of all the Motions of the Papacy in this Affair, in which Religion was so much concerned.

Neither ought the Materials of this History, having been collected chiefly out of Portuguese Writers, be any Prejudice to its Credit: The Veneration the Portugueses have for the Roman See, being so great, that this long ill Usage of them by the Popes, was not, so far as I have seen, able to draw one hard Word from them,

them, neither against the Papacy, nor against the Persons of the Popes, by whom they were so ill treated: And though one would have thought, that it might have been enough to provoke them to have thrown off a Yoke, which lay so heavy upon their Necks, since its Bonds may so easily be discovered not to have any true Strength in them; as the Venetians were ready to have done, upon a much shorter Provocation; yet the Reverence the Portugueses are possessed with for the Roman Chair, is so profound, and enchanting; that as it made one of their Kings prefer the Title, Of the Pope's most humble Servant, to all the glorious Religious Titles which were offered him; so that whole Nation, is reduced by it to an incredible Tameness under all the Wrongs, and Oppressions, which she daily suffers under that Proud and Tyrannical Superior. So that of the Two, I do really believe, that the Portugueses have been partial for the Popes in the Relation of this Affair; or at least have put the most favourable Constructions upon all that they did in it; rather than that they have done the contrary.

However, I have endeavoured to set that whole Transaction in as true a Light as I could find for it; and having done that, I leave it to the Reader to judge, whether there be not something of a Sorcery in Popery; and whether any thing of the Direction of the Spirit of God does appear to have been in the Popes managery of this

this great religious Affair ; which was kept by them so long upon the Stage, partly out of Fear or Affection for the Spaniard, but chiefly for to have got to themselves the Nomination of the Bishops in Portugal, and in all its Plantations : To which Power, (though they have never exercised it,) as the Popes do still pretend to have the original Right, so they are always grasping after that Power, when they have any Hopes of being able to obtain it.

And as nothing can be more absurd, than the Papal Champions concluding that the Church has a supream and uncontroulable Governour set over her on Earth by Christ, because it would be convenient for Her to have such a one : For with better Logick they might conclude from the same Topick, that the supream Governour is always called to that Office by an audible Voice from Heaven, and is able to work Miracles to convince all Gain-sayers : So that such an Headship, as it is lodged in the Bishop of Rome, has great Inconveniencies attending it, will be manifest to all that shall read the following History. And though I will not say, but that such an Headship, if it were always lodged in Persons of such heavenly Minds, as made the Advancement of God's Honour, and the Edification and Salvation of Souls, their only Care, would be of great Benefit to the Church, and to the whole World ; so on the contrary, that Headship, as it has been lodged for a thousand Years, by Reason

son of that covetous, ambitious, cruel, fraudulent, and turbulent Spirit, which seems to be entailed on the Roman Chair, is by universal Experience known to have been the Bane of all true Religion, and the great Nuisance to the whole Christian Church: So that had the Papacy nothing to support its great Power, but the Conveniencies which it yieldeth to the Church of God, and to Christendom, it must quickly tumble down, to the Joy of all, except the Demetrius's, who have their Wealth by its either fleecing, or fleaing of its Sheep, in all Parts, as they can be brought to bear it; and which is born by Portugal with a Tamenefs that will always keep Her Poor.

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HISTORY

OF THE

Pope's Behaviour

TOWARDS

PORTUGAL, &c.

THE Source of the Subject Matter of this Tract, being in the different Pretensions of the Progeny of *Don Emanuel*, to the Crown of *Portugal*; it cannot be thorowly understood, without looking back as far as the Death of that King, and taking a transient View of the *Royal Succession* from that Time.

Don Emanuel, the wisest and most prosperous King that ever wore the Crown of *Portugal*; among his other Felicities, was blessed with a numerous Issue. His eldest Son *Don John the Third* succeeded him in the Throne, and he dying young, left only
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one Child, named *Sebastian*; and *Don Sebastian* being slain in a Battle in *Africk*, before he was married, the Crown, by his Death, went to his Uncle the Cardinal *Don Henry*; who was second Son to *Don Emanuel*: And *Don Henry* having never married neither, tho' he had Thoughts of doing it, after he was King, notwithstanding his being a Cardinal Priest, and at that time above seventy Years of Age; he was, during the whole Time of his short Reign, extreamly perplexed with the Claims which were put in to succeed him by divers Princes.

The *First*, and strongest of those Pretenders, was, *Philip the Second King of Spain*, as Son and Heir to the Empress *Donna Isabella*, the eldest Daughter of King *Emanuel*.

The *Second*, was *Emanuel Duke of Savoy*, as Son and Heir to the Infanta *Donna Beatrix*, the second Daughter of the same King.

The *Third*, was *Don Antonio*; Prior de *Crato*, as Son and Heir to the Infante *Don Lewis*, the third Son of King *Emanuel*.

The *Fourth*, was *Raynucio Prince of Parma*, as Son and Heir to *Donna Maria*, the eldest Daughter of the Infante *Don Edward*, the fourth Son of King *Emanuel*.

The *Fifth*, was *Donna Catherina*, second Daughter to the Infante *Don Edward*, who was married to the Duke of *Braganza*.

A remote Title was also trumped up by *Katherine de Medicis*, Queen of *France*, for no other Reason, that I can perceive, but only to give some Lustre to her Blood, which, on her Father's Side, was the basest that had ever run in the Veins of any Queen of *France* before.

And the Pope, who will be still fishing for himself in all troubled Waters, did start a Title that was yet more fantastical ; which was his being Heir to the King, as he was Cardinal.

The old King being vehemently sollicitated, by all these Pretenders, to be declared by him his Successor ; he slighted the Pope's, the Queen of *France's*, and the Duke of *Savoy's* Claims, as altogether groundless ; and though the Prince of *Parma*, in the Lineal Descent, was the undoubted Heir to the Crown after the Death of the King, who was his Grand-Uncle ; yet that Prince's Claim was but little regarded ; there being a Law in *Portugal*, called the Law of *Lamego*, whereby all *Foreigners are excluded from the Crown, though otherwise the right Heirs to it.*

The great struggle came therefore at last, to be betwixt *Philip* the second King of *Spain*, the Dutchess of *Braganza*, and *Antonio*, who being extreamly beloved by the People of *Portugal*, would not withdraw his Claim, (though it was rejected by the King with Indignation

dignation for his being a Bastard ;) pretending to be able to prove that his Father was married to his Mother, or if he could not prove that, yet his Friends, who were the People, said that ought to be no Bar to him, no more than it was to the victorious *Don John* the First, the Founder of the present Royal Family of *Portugal*: And Pope *Gregory the Thirteenth*, when he found he should make nothing of his own Claim, did promote that of *Don Antonio's*, whose Interest was espoused by the Pope's Nuncio in *Portugal* with great Wramth: For that politick Pope judging the *Spanish* Crown to be too strong and formidable already, was very unwilling to have it made stronger, by the Accession of *Portugal* to it.

The Dutchess of *Braganza*, though the King offered her and her Family great Advantages in the Name of *Philip*, if she would resign her Title to that King, as the Prince of *Parma* was said to have done; she would not hear of doing it upon any Terms whatsoever; but was continually solliciting the King her Uncle, to do her Justice.

The King being in a great Perplexity what to do, called the *Cortes* to settle the Succession; and in which fifteen Nobles, and two and twenty Men of Letters, were named to be Judges; and five Nobles out of those fifteen, were appointed to be Govern-

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Behaviour towards Portugal. 83

ours of the Kingdom, if the King happened to die before a Sentence was passed, and who were to see the Sentence that should be passed executed; and thereupon an Oath was taken by the *three Estates* of the Realm, to stand to the Decision of those Judges; or, in Case they did not agree, to yield Obedience to the Sentence of the five Governours; and which Oath, both the Duke of *Braganza* and *Antonio* were compelled by the King to take; but when *Philip* was required to do it, who had a strong Army quartered on the Frontiers of *Portugal*; he made Answer, he would not take it; *nor could he allow his Right, which was so clear, to be put in Judgment.* And King *Henry* dying soon after, the *Spanish* Army under the command of the Duke of *Alva*, marched forthwith into *Portugal*, and having quickly defeated *Don Antonio*, and driven him out of *Lisbon*, where he had been proclaimed King by the People, *Philip* was immediately proclaimed King there, and in all other Places of the Kingdom; and having the five Governours under his Power, he was by a Majority of them, declared to be the lawful Heir of the Crown; which Declaration was soon after confirmed by the *Cortes* of the whole Kingdom, called by *Philip* at *Tomar*, where he was acknowledged, and sworn to, as the lawful King of the Realm; which being a Foreigner, it is cer-

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tain, he was not ; nor could he have been, had he been a Native ; the Daughter of the Brother, which the Dutcheſs of *Braganza* was, being both by the Laws of that Kingdom, and by the Law of Representation, to be preferred to the Son of the Siſter : For as, had that Dutcheſs's Father, the Infante *Don Edward*, and that King's Mother, been both alive when their Brother *Don Henry* died, the King's Mother could not have pretended to the Crown, before her Brother *Don Edward* ; ſo neither ought *Philip* as her Heir to pretend to it, before the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, who was Daughter, and by Law Heir to the Infante *Don Edward* : And ſo much King *Philip* was told to his Face, by a Friar that preached before him in the Royal Chapel, who having taken thoſe Words of our Saviour for his Text, *Philip, he that ſeeth me, ſeeth my Father*, did look the King full in the Face when he ſpoke the Word *Philip*, and having then turned about to the Dutcheſs of *Braganza*, who was likewise in the Chapel, he added, *he that ſeeth me, ſeeth my Father* ; plainly intimating, that the Dutcheſs, being in her Father's Place, had all the ſame Rights which her Father would have had, if he were alive.

By this, and its being univerſally reported and believed among the *Portugueſes*, that King *Sebastian* was ſtill alive, and was ready

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to return to his Kingdom ; and by twenty Things more ; *Philip* could not but see, that, in their Hearts, the *Portugueses* were much averse to his being their King ; and knowing *Don Bartholomew dos Martyries*, Archbishop of *Braga*, the most celebrated Man in all *Spain* or *Portugal* at that Time, for Piety, Learning, and Firmness, to be a great Friend of *Don Antonio*, to whom he had been Tutor ; he did plainly trick that great Prelate, out of an Ability to do his Pupil any Service, unless it were with his Prayers : For whereas this Archbishop, had for several Years, tired both the Court of *Portugal*, and that of *Rome*, with repeated vehement Petitions for Leave to resign his Archbishoprick, that he might return to the beloved Mortifications of his Order, which was the *Dominican* ; King *Philip*, when he made that Petition to him, and which the King knew he would make of Course, when he came to take his Leave of him after the *Cortes* was over, did not only grant him that his Petition at the first Word, but got him before they parted, to write to the Pope for his Leave to do it ; which that Prelate having done, the King took Care by his Ambassador at *Rome*, to procure it for him, though it was generally believed, that the Archbishop himself, and all his Friends, employed their whole Interest to have hindered it : For he was so far from retiring to

his Monastery, as was expected, after he had made his Resignation to the King, that having flung from Court in a great Discontent, he immediately began a Visitation of his whole Diocess; and which he maintained he had Authority to visit, notwithstanding the Resignation he had made, until such time as it was accepted by the Pope: And afterwards when this Matter, and some Rents which had become due, betwixt the Time when he resigned to the King, and the Dispatch of the Pope's Approbation, came to be warmly disputed; by his angry and waspish Behaviour in that Contest, and, during his whole Life, towards his first and second Successors, in whose Diocess he lived and died, he plainly discovered how highly displeased he was with himself, for having resigned his Archbishoprick, and with all that had any ways concurred to it, or that reaped any Profit by it; giving the World thereby too much Cause to think, that all his former vehement Petitions for Leave to resign, had but little of Sincerity in them.

But, though by this Trick the King had disarmed the most formidable Enemy he had in *Portugal*; yet being sensible, that if he did not bring the *Portugueses* to be better affected to him and his Government, than they were at present; that he must either be at the great Charge of maintaining a considerable

ble *Spanish* Army still in *Portugal*, or must quickly lose that Kingdom again; to win the Hearts of the *Portugueses*, he granted them all the Advantage they desired; having promised and sworn to observe the following Articles.

First, To conserve to that Crown, all its Prerogatives, and Stiles, the Coynage, the Royal Palace, and all the Offices used in it by its natural Princes; and that the King being in *Portugal* should be served by none but Natives.

Secondly, That no Foreigner should be capable of any Office, or Dignity, Ecclesiastical or Civil, nor of any Military Commands, nor of any Title of Honour, Pensions, or Grants, nor of having the Liberty of trading to any of the *Portuguese* Plantations.

Thirdly, That the Viceroy of the Kingdom should be always one of the Royal Family.

Fourthly, That wherever the King was, a certain Number of *Portugueses* should assist, with the Title of the *Council of Portugal*, and through whose Hands only all Dispatches should pass, and which should be all written in the *Portuguese* Tongue, and that *Portugueses* as well as *Castilians* should be admitted to Offices in the Palace.

Fifthly, That the *Cortes* should not be assembled out of the Kingdom; and that all

the Publick Affairs should be transacted in that Assembly.

Sixthly, That the King should obtain no Bulls from the Pope, to receive the Thirds, or any other Ecclesiastical Subsidies.

Seventhly, That the dry Ports betwixt the two Kingdoms should be opened, and the Merchants be allowed to Trade without paying any Duties.

Eighthly, That the King should reside in *Portugal*, as much as he could possibly ; and that the Prince should be bred up in it, to beget in him an Affection for the *Portugueses*.

Lastly, In Case the King, or any of his Successors should violate the foresaid Articles, it should be lawful for the three Estates of the Kingdom, to withdraw their Allegiance from him.

With these Articles, observed pretty well as to the main, *Portugal* continued quiet, though still much discontented, under the Crown of *Spain*, from the Year 1580, until the Year 1640 : When *Spain* being much weakened, by the long expensive War she was engaged in with *France*, and by the sudden Revolt of *Catalonia* ; some of the *Portuguese* Nobles, now that *Spain* had her Hands so full, judged that to be a proper Time for *Portugal* to shake of her Yoke ; and they being come to a Resolution to offer the Crown to the Duke of *Braganza* ; some of the ablest
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of that Duke's Friends were dispatched to him with great Secrecy, to try if they could persuade him to accept of it: That Duke, who was no great Genius, was, with much Difficulty, prevailed with to take the Crown; and it was believed, he would never have ventured to have done it, if he had not been pushed on by the Ambition of *Don Luisa* his Wife, who was a Woman of a high Spirit: And who is reported to have answered all her Husband's timerous Objections, with telling him, *That it was better to be a King one Day, than a Duke for the longest Life.* That Duke's Consent having been obtained, he was proclaimed King of *Portugal* in *Lisbon*, by a Junta of the Nobles, on the First of *December*, in the Year 1640, and soon after in all the other Parts of the Kingdom, and in all the *Portuguese* Foreign Plantations in *Africa*, and in the *East* and *West-Indies*, as soon as they had the News of his Acclamation in *Portugal*; the Garrisons of *Tangier* and *Ceuta*, being the only Places, belonging to that Crown, that stood firm to the *Spaniards*.

Here I cannot but reflect on the Impoliticness of the three *Philips* of *Spain*, who were Kings of *Portugal*; for their having suffered the Family of *Braganza*, not only to remain in that Kingdom, but to be every Day more powerful in it: For had they transplanted that Family either into *Italy*,
Flanders,

Flanders, or the *Spanish Indies*, and given them there greater Estates, and higher Titles than they had in *Portugal*; the Crown of *Spain*, in all Likelihood, had never lost that Kingdom.

For, had not the Family of *Braganza* remained in *Portugal*, which besides its having a true Title to the Crown in it, was so much superior, to all the rest of the Nobles of that Kingdom, for Estate and Grandeur; the Nobles, though they had been left to their Liberty, would never have agreed in a Person to be set over them as their King: And that this was not foreseen by the *Spaniards*, who are undoubtedly a wise and considerate People, I do reckon to be one of the greatest Prodigies of Impolitickness that we meet with in History. But to return,

The Duke of *Braganza* having been proclaimed King by the whole Realm of *Portugal*, and with the least Blood that ever was spilt in so great a Revolution, there not having been above three Persons killed in it, though many Thousands were afterwards to maintain it; the new King made all the haste possible to strengthen himself by foreign Alliances; and having immediately dispatched Ambassadors to *France*, *England*, *Holland*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*; and to all the other Enemies of the House of *Austria*, he was, to his great Encouragement, without any Difficulty,

ty, acknowledged King of *Portugal* by all those Princes and States.

But there was one Prince, whose acknowledging of him, by Reason of the profound Veneration which the *Portugueses* have for his Authority, would have done him more good than all the rest, except *France*, which was the Pope : But how that could be obtained, puzzled them extreamly ; being sensible, that the Pope could not do it without incensing the *Spaniard*, who is strong in *Italy*.

But this Matter, which was one of the chiefest of their Cares, being long under Deliberation ; they came to a Resolution at last, to send an Ambassador to *Rome*, according to Custom, to acquaint the Pope with their new King's Accession to the Crown, and to yield his Obedience to that See ; and farther, to supplicate the Pope to confirm some Ecclesiasticks in the Bishopricks to which they had been nominated by their new King ; hoping by that side Wind, if it could not be done otherwise, to have brought the Pope to acknowledge his Royal Authority ; and to the sending of this Embassy, the *Portugueses* were much encouraged by the *French*, who assured them, the Pope, at that time *Urban the Eighth*, was no Friend to the *Spaniard*, and it was very true, that in his Heart he was not ; and the *French* did further promise to employ all their Power at *Rome* to obtain an Audience

Audience of the Pope for their Ambassador.

This Affair having been thus fixed, the King named *Don Michael de Portugal*, Bishop of *Lamego*, for his Ambassador at *Rome*; he was a Prelate of a very noble Family, being Brother to the Conde *Vimiosa*, and one of a lofty Genius; but being young, *Pantalion Roiz Pereira*, an Inquisitor, a Man of great Gravity and Dexterity in Business, was made Agent; and *Rodrigo Roiz de Lemos*, a Judge, who was an able Lawyer, was made Secretary of the Embassy.

The Ambassador, having received his Dispatches, embarked at *Lisbon* on the fourteenth of *April* 1641, and being to take *France* in his Way, to receive his last Instructions from that Court; he arrived at *Paris* in thirteen Days, and was very kindly received there, and promised all the Assistance at *Rome* the Crown of *France* could give him; Orders were likewise sent to the Ambassador of *France*, at that Court, to entertain him in his House as an Ambassador, until he had a publick Audience of the Pope: On the twentieth of *October* the *Portuguese* Ambassador embarked at *Toulon*, and having had a short Passage to *Civita Vecchia*, he advised the Ambassador of *France* of his being arrived there.

Pope *Urban*, when he heard of an Ambassador from *Portugal* being at his Gates, was extremely perplexed: For the Crowns of *France* and *Spain* had never on any Occasion, besides that of chusing a new Pope, exerted their whole Strength and Interest in *Rome*, with more Vigour than they did on this: The Ambassador of *France* talked high, of what his Master would do, if the Bishop of *Lamego* were not suffered to come to *Rome*, and had not an Audience given him as the Ambassador of the King of *Portugal*; and the Pope, who was, with his whole Family, entirely in the Interest of *France*, would in this Matter gladly have gratified both that Crown, and his own Malice against *Spain*, to which, as he never was a Friend, so he was at this time more incensed against Her than ever, having been possessed with a Conceit of the *Conde Duque de Olivares* having employed one to give him Poison; and though that did appear afterwards to have been a Scandal thrown unjustly on that great Minister, yet the Pope, whose Life was very dear to himself, would never be undeceived. The *Spaniards* who were not ignorant of the Pope's standing thus ill affected to them, and knowing no other way how to prevent his giving the Audience of an Ambassador to the Bishop of *Lamego*, but by working upon his Fears; *Don John Chamyceiro* their Ambassador

Ambassador at Rome, was expressly commanded, if he saw there was any Occasion for it, to let the Pope know, *That if he should own the Title to the Crown of Portugal to be in the Duke of Braganza; and which he must do, if he received one sent to him by that Duke as an Ambassador, that his Master would upon it immediately recal his Ambassador from Rome, and send the Nuncio out of Spain; and would sequester all Revenues which belonged to the Roman See within his Dominions, and reserve them for the next Pope, who would do him Justice:* And this threatening Message of Spain's, having been industriously spread over Rome, the Pope in great Perplexity told the two Ambassadors, that he would communicate this Affair of Portugal to some of the Cardinals, and having heard their Opinion of it, would do what should be judged to be just, and most convenient; and accordingly he called to him his two Nephews, the Cardinals *Pamphilio, Sacchetti, Bichi, Bentivolio*, and some others, on whose Judgment and Fidelity he thought he might depend; and having laid that Affair before them, he required their Advice in it: The Cardinal *Sacchetti*, who was in the French Interest, made a long Harangue, to persuade the Pope, that he could neither in Justice nor Policy deny an Audience to the Ambassador of Portugal; the chief Argument

ment he used was, that no Pope, in any such case, had ever examined in whom the Right to the Crown was, but had still treated the Person that was in Possession of the Kingdom, however he came by it, as the King of it; and by several Instances which he produced in *Germany, Spain, Naples*, and in other Kingdoms, he demonstrated that to have been the constant Practice of the *Roman See*, and which the *Council of Trent* had wisely taken Care to have continued; knowing, that if the Pope should depart from it, he could not avoid involving himself and his Chair in many dangerous Difficulties: And in this *Sacchetti* was seconded by the Cardinal *Bichi*. The Cardinal *Pamphilio*, who had been long Nuncio in *Spain*, was of another Mind; and by him the granting of an Audience of an Ambassador to the Bishop of *Lamego*, was represented, as a thing that was not just, and which considering how it would be resented by the *Spaniards*, could not be done without very great Danger.

Cardinal *Bentivolio* was for a middle Way, which was, that the Pope should give an Audience to the Bishop of *Lamego*, with all the Ceremonies and Solemnities of an Ambassador; but that before he did it, he should make a publick Protestation, that it should no ways affect the Title of the Crown of *Portugal*, which should remain in the State it was
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in before, or as if that had never been done : The two Nephews were both enough addicted to *France*, but they were so terrified with the Threats of the *Spaniards*, that they durst not advise their Uncle to make so bold a Step; and so did determine, that the Bishop of *Lamego* should be suffered to come privately to *Rome*; but that he should not be received as an Ambassador; apprehending, that the *French*, though they talked big, were not so likely to execute their threatenings, if that Audience were denied, as the *Spaniards*, who were much more concerned in Interest, would be, if it were granted : And accordingly the Cardinal *Antonio Barbarino* was ordered by his Uncle the Pope, to secure the Road to *Rome* to the Bishop of *Lamego*; and the *French* Ambassador fearing least the *Spaniards* might have arrested that Bishop by the way, and carried him Prisoner into the Kingdom of *Naples*, (which it is said was designed,) sent a guard of his own Servants to attend him, and to whom several *Portugueses* and *Catalonians*, who lived in *Rome*, voluntarily joined themselves.

With this Guard the Bishop of *Lamego* came safe to *Rome*, in great Pomp; and having alighted at the Palace of the *French* Ambassador, he was received by him with all the Ceremonies any Ambassador can lay Claim to; and was, during his whole Stay at *Rome*,
treated

treated by him in the same Manner, and by all the Cardinals of the *French* Faction: The Ambassador of *France* was earnest with him to have stayed at his House, until the Business of his Audience was settled; but the Bishop would not hear of that; but, having taken a Palace for himself, he went and lived in it, as long as he stayed at *Rome*.

The *Spaniards*, who had set their whole Strength to hinder that Bishop from being received as an Ambassador; apprehending that *Don John Chamyceiro* had neither Quality, nor Spirit enough to contend with that *Portuguese*, who had both in a high Degree; they recalled him, and sent the Marquis *de Los Velles*, who was a Grandee, and a Man of great State and Heat, to succeed him in that Employment at *Rome*.

All Addresses concerning the Affair of *Portugal*, having been ordered by the Pope to be made to his Nephew the Cardinal *Francisco Barbarino*; *Pantalion de Roiz* as Agent of *Portugal* waited upon him, the Ambassador having been strictly forbid by the Pope to come near the Court in Publick, before some Resolution was taken concerning his Character; the Cardinal *Francisco* told the Agent, the second Time he waited on him, that he wanted to see the Duke of *Braganza's* Title to the Crown of *Portugal*; the Agent answered, his Master King *John* had

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sent an Embassy to the Apostolical See, to give Obedience to the chief Pontiff, and not to have from him any Decision or Confirmation of his Title to his Crown, which he held of none but God; however, to satisfy that Cardinal's private Curiosity, he promised to put a clear Account of that Right into his Hands: And accordingly, the next Day, he delivered him a Paper, in which he demonstrated the true Title to the Crown of *Portugal* to have been in the House of *Braganza*, ever since the Death of King *Henry* the Cardinal: Upon that Memorial, the Agent was so vain as to hope that a Resolution might speedily have been taken to grant the Ambassador of *Portugal* an Audience; but he quickly found he was mistaken, for at his own next Audience the Cardinal *Francisco* told him, ' His Holiness saw more of Appearances, than of Obedience or Respect to the Holy See, in this *Portuguese* Embassy; the Retention of the Chapels, which had been taken from the Church in *Portugal*, being still persisted in, to the Violation of the Ecclesiastical Immunities; and the pernicious Example of the Expulsion of the Bishop of *Nicaastro*, the Apostolical Collector, on that Account, contumaciously approved of: The imprisoning of *Don Sebastian de Mattos*, Archbishop of *Braga*, was likewise a thing, which, the Pope said, gave

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‘ great Scandal to the whole Christian Commonwealth; and for that reason, it was absolutely necessary, that Prelate should be set at Liberty, and restored to his Dignities; or should at least be remitted in Custody to Rome, where the Pope, who was his lawful Superior, would judge his Cause; which being done, and the Chapels all restored, might, the Cardinal said, possibly dispose his Holiness to receive their Embassy.

To all this the Agent made answer;
‘ That the Ambassador’s Commission extending only to the yielding of Obedience to the chief Pontiff, it was not reasonable to clog it with Matters about which he could have no Powers, nor Instructions; and that the Pope might very safely trust to the Catholick Piety of the King so far, as not to doubt if he sent an Apostolical Nuncio to *Portugal*, as was the Custom on all such Occasions, of having the difference about the Chapels, which had continued ever since the Year 1604, ended to his Satisfaction; notwithstanding the Apostolical Collector, who had been expelled in the Time of the *Spaniard*, had, by the publick Violation of a Law of the Kingdom, which had been made long before, given an universal Scandal: And as to the Archbishop of *Braga*, the Agent said, the King had not exceeded the Permissions of the Canon Law in imprisoning him, nor
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‘ would he if he had put him to Death ; that
 ‘ Prelate having been convicted of High Treason : However, that none of his Actions
 ‘ might be so much as suspected, if the Pope
 ‘ would name some Persons at *Lisbon* to review that Archbishop’s Case, the King would
 ‘ order his whole Process to be laid before
 ‘ them ; and which could not be sent to *Rome*
 ‘ without being in danger of falling into the
 ‘ Hands of the *Spaniards*.

Here, I think, it will not be improper to present the Reader, in short, with the State of that Archbishop’s Case, which made so great a Noise at *Rome* : This Prelate, who was a Man of great Wisdom, very Active, and of an intrepid Spirit, being known to be entirely in the Interest of the *Spaniard*, who had conferred great Honours upon him, and his Family, it was once resolved, in the *Junta* of the Nobles, to have dispatched him out of the Way, in the first Heat of the Revolution ; but having afterwards considered that That would bring a Scandal upon that Enterprize, and not despairing of being able to gain him, all Thoughts of it were laid aside, and accordingly upon the Acclamation, he was named by them one of the Governours of the Kingdom, until the Duke of *Braganza* arrived at *Lisbon* ; neither could the new King have denied him any thing, that he would have desired : But either his Affection for the *Spaniard*, or his
 Fear

Fear that they would quickly recover *Portugal* again, being too strong to be removed, he presently left the Court, and retired to a Villa not far from *Lisbon*; where, by his Dexterity, he had in a short Time engaged the chief *Inquisitor*, the *Bishop of Martyria*, the *Marquis de Villareal*, and his Son the Duke of *Caminha*, and his own Nephew the *Conde de Armanar*, and several other Nobles, and some rich Merchants, in a Conspiracy to call back the *Spanish* Government; the Story wherewith he brought them all into the Plot, was, *That Portugal would speedily be ruined, if she did not submit herself to the Spaniard; there being neither Council, Strength, nor Union, in the new Government, which had been tumultuously erected, to withstand the force of Spain; which was formidable to all the World, both by Sea and Land: And that Portugal being conquered by Spain, as she must necessarily be in a short Time, if she did not prevent it by a voluntary Submission, would be reduced to the miserable State of a conquered Province.* But this Conspiracy having been discovered, when it was ready to have been executed, the fore-named Prelates, Nobles, and Merchants were all apprehended, and having been all plainly convicted of High Treason, the *Marquis de Villareal*, his Son the Duke of *Caminha*, the *Conde de Armanar*, and *Don Augustine Manoel*, lost their Heads for it, on the same Day, upon a Scaf-

fold in the *Rocio* of *Lisbon* ; and the *Inquisitor General*, the Archbishop of *Braga*, and the Bishop of *Martyria*, were all made close Prisoners ; the first, upon his Submission, was, after some Years, set at Liberty, and restored to all his Places ; but the second died in close Durance ; and the third, under a Confinement in a Monastery : This was truly the Case of that Archbishop, with whose Confinement, the Pope said, the whole Christian Commonwealth was very much scandalized. But to return,

The Cardinal *Francisco* not being satisfied with what the *Portuguese* Agent had offered, grew weary of giving him Audience, and by his slighting Behaviour gave him to understand as much ; but the Bishop of *Lamego*, being treated by all the Cardinals, and Nobles in *Rome*, who were of the *French* Faction, as an Ambassador, the Marquis *De Los Veles* fearing least e'er long the Pope might do so too, he resolved to rid *Rome* of that Bishop ; and having ordered one of his own Out-houses to be set on Fire, he gave out it had been done by some *Portugueses* ; and, to prevent any more such Insolencies, he called some Officers and Soldiers to him out of the Kingdom of *Naples*, among whom there came several Banditi ; by which means that Marquis having made himself strong in *Rome*, he determined to meet the Bishop of *Lamego* in the Streets, and having made a Fray with him,
either

either to kill him, or to apprehend him, and send him a Prisoner to *Naples*, as the Marquiss *de Castel Rodrigo* had done not long before at *Rome*, with the Prince of *Sans*, on Suspicion of his being in a Correspondence with *France*; and which Prince was put to Death at *Naples* a few Days after he was sent thither. The Pope having had Notice of the Marquiss's Intention, did weaken him very much by a Proclamation, commanding all Vagabonds upon a severe Penalty to leave *Rome*, and at the same Time sent an Order to the Bishop of *Lamego* not to go abroad with any armed Men, for he would take care that he should not be insulted: With which Order that Bishop having complied, his Servants one Day as he was ready to go to the Ambassador of *France*, observed a Fellow lurking about their Gates, whom they knew to belong to the Marquiss, and suspecting him to be sent for a Spy, they acquainted their Master with it; but he being a Man not to be daunted, would not put off his Visit he had designed to make; and when he came to the Ambassador of *France's*, having heard more of the Matter, one was sent from thence to the Marquiss's Palace, and who having been there, brought word that the Marquiss's Coaches were making ready, and besides his own Servants, that there was a great Company of Strangers, armed with Pistols and Carabines; of which

the Cardinal *Francisco* having likewise had Notice, he desired the Agent of *Portugal*, who was with him at that Time, to go and persuade the Bishop of *Lamego* not to go abroad that Evening: The Agent having found that Bishop at the Ambassador of *France's*, did all that he was able to have persuaded him to have tarried there all Night; to which he was vehemently urged by the Ambassador: But having been told by the Bishop that home he would go that Night, though he was sure it would cost him his Life, the Ambassador of *France* did both furnish his Servants with Arms, and order a good Company of *French* and *Catalonians* well armed to guard him home; appointing the Gentleman of his Chamber, in whom he had great Confidence, to march at their Head. The Bishop was gone but a little Way, when Word was brought him, that if he went on he would be stopped by the Coaches of the Ambassador of *Spain*, which were already entered the Street he was to go through: The Bishop not being at all daunted, commanded his Coachman to drive on, which he having done, they heard the *Spaniards* before them, calling, *make way there, for the Ambassador of Spain*; and who having been answered by the *Portugueses*, with *make way for the Ambassador of Portugal*, the Footmen drew their Swords, and the Coaches, which were

were drove furiously, having run one against another, the Guards fired on both sides; in the beginning of the Fray, the *Portuguese* Ambassador leaped out of his Coach, and with a Carabine in his Hand put himself at the head of his Men; the Ambassador of *Spain* left his Coach at the same time, but having stepped into a Confectioner's Shop, he went through it, and got by a back way to the Palace of the Cardinal *Albernoz*: The Fight had been bloody, if the City Guards had not come in and parted them; on the *Portugueses* side, four were shot dead upon the Spot, and among them a Knight of *Malta*, who was a Kinsman of the *French* Ambassadors, and several were wounded: Of the *Spaniards* eight were shot dead, and many more were wounded; and the Harness of the Ambassador of *Portugal's* Horses having been cut to Pieces, he ordered his Servants, when his Coaches was refitted, to come and fetch him from the Ambassador of *France's* Palace, to which he walked on Foot; and having staid there till his Coaches came, he went home that Night without meeting any Disturbance: The next Morning early he received a Complement from the *Barbarino's*, and was visited the same Day by all the Creatures of *France*; and having been informed that the Pope highly resented the Affront, which had been put on his own Authority by the *Spaniards*, he did hope, that in Revenge,
and

and to give *Portugal* some Reparation, he would forthwith have granted him an Audience; but the Pope was so far from doing that, that after this quarrel, he denied it with more Stiffness than it had ever been denied before; and the Cardinal *Barbarino* did give the Agent of *Portugal* plainly to understand, that he was grown sick of his Company: Upon that, and the Year's being near expiring which he was ordered to wait at *Rome* for an Audience, the Ambassador did let the Pope know, that if he had not an Audience given him by such a Day, he was not to stay any longer for it; to which Message the Pope's Answer, by the Cardinal *Bichi*, was, 'That
 ' the Congregation of Cardinals which he had
 ' appointed to meet, and consult about that
 ' Affair, were all of Opinion, that it was not
 ' convenient that he should be received as an
 ' Ambassador, as well on the Account of some
 ' late Accidents, as because the *State of the*
 ' *Church* being at that time in a War with the
 ' Duke of *Parma*, it was not safe for him to
 ' provoke the *Spaniards*, who were so powerful
 ' at his Gates; but that if he desired an Audience of him, as the Bishop of *Lamego*,
 ' he was ready to give him one'. The Ambassador told the Cardinal briskly, *That as he was not come to Rome as Bishop of Lamego, but with a Character of the Ambassador of the King of Portugal; so, unless the Pope would*
give

give him a *Publick Audience as an Ambassador*, he could not wait on him at all: And to let the *Barbarino's* see that he resented the Treatment he had met with, he left *Rome* without taking any Notice of them.

This expensive Embassy to *Rome* having succeeded so ill, the King resolved not to send another, until he was assured it would be received; and whereas the Bishops, both in the Kingdom, and in the Plantations, had died faster than ordinary, after his coming to the Crown; though he named some to the Bishopricks as soon as they were Vacant, he received all the Rents himself, and employed them to the Uses of the War, with a Promise to make them all good to the Bishops, when they should be put in Possession of their Bishopricks, by being recognized by the Pope. And the Sum which came yearly into the Treasury by this way, was so great, that it was believed by many, that the King, whatever he pretended, was not sorry for the Pope's having denied to recognize the Bishops which he had named: But whatever politick Refiners may extract from things, I could never see any thing in that Prince's Conduct, that gives the least Colour to such a Suspicion. However it was with the King, they, who had been named by him to Bishopricks, though they enjoyed all the Benefits of their former Preferments, and the whole

whole Clergy, were much displeased, with this Misapplication of the Church Revenues; and to remedy this Evil, the Clergy, having been assembled together, it was agreed, that in their own Names, they should send an Envoy to *Rome*, to supplicate the Pope to recognize the Bishops who had been named to the vacant Bishopricks; and having obtained the King's Leave for it, Doctor *Nicholas Montiro*, Prior of the Collegiate Church of *Cedofeita*, and Bishop elect of *Portalegre*, was pitched on by them for that Employment: But before the Prior had left *Lisbon*, the News of Pope *Urban's* Death, and of the Cardinal *Pamphilio* having succeeded him, being come thither; the King, now that there was a new Pope, did send by the Prior, who was to take *Paris* in his way, a Commission to the Marquis *de Nisa*, his Ambassador at the Court of *France* at that time, to go his Ambassador to the Pope, in case the Prior, who was to go before him to *Rome*, found the Pope well disposed to receive him: The Prior having accordingly gone to *Paris*, and spent some time there; with the other Papers which he had from that Court, he had a Letter from the *French* King to the Cardinal *Bickin*, who was in that King's Interest, and was believed to be in great Credit with the Pope; and to which Cardinal, the Marquis *de Nisa* did likewise send a Letter by the Prior, to acquaint

acquaint him with his being named by the King of *Portugal* to be his Ambassador to the Pope.

The Prior when he was come to *Rome*, lodged in the Hospital of St. *Antony*, which belongs to the *Portugueses*; until a convenient House was provided for him: And that he might lose no time, the second Day after he came to *Rome*, he went to wait on the Cardinal *Bichi*, who received him very kindly, and having seen the Supplication of the Clergy of *Portugal*, and the *French* King's Letter, which were brought by the Prior; he expressed a wonderful Zeal for that Affair, and did assure the Prior he would assist him in it to the utmost of his Power: But the Prior having waited upon him the next Day, and given him the Marquis *de Nisa*'s Letter; the Cardinal, though he was still civil to him, told him at parting, *That though in Appearance he was sent only by the Clergy of Portugal to negotiate an Ecclesiastical Matter; in reality he was come to negotiate the grand Affair of the Crown of Portugal at Rome; and in which, he told him plainly, he could not promise that he would meet with any good Success.* That Prior having left the Cardinal, he went, much mortified, to visit the rest of the Cardinals, that were Creatures of *France*; they all gave him good Words and large Promises of their Assistance: The Prior returned home to St.

Antony's

Antony's in the Evening, and found there a Chaplain of Cardinal *Spada's*, who was the Pope's Almoner, with a Message for him, to come next Morning to his Lord, at his Lodgings in the Pope's Palace; which the Prior having done, the Cardinal, after some Civilities had passed, asked him, *What was his Business at Rome, and from whom, and to whom, he had brought Letters?* And the Prior returned such an Answer, as he thought convenient. The Cardinal asked him, *Whether he had brought no more Letters, than he had mentioned?* The Prior replied, *That he had no Letter from the King of Portugal, nor no Command from him to wait upon the Pope; but that he had brought a Letter to the Cardinal Bichi, from the Marquiss de Nisa, whom the King had named to be his Ambassador at Rome; and who was at Paris, preparing himself to come thither with that Character.* And the Prior having begun to expatiate himself in the Praise of that Marquiss, he was interrupted by the Cardinal, who told him, *That as he was not indeed fit to treat about so great an Affair, so neither could he enter upon it, having no Order from the Pope to do it; on the contrary, he was expressly commanded by the Pope, to treat with him about the Supplication of the Clergy of Portugal, and not about any thing else;* expressing at the same time a great

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great Compassion for the afflicted State of that Church.

The Prior left the Cardinal, and returned home much disconsolate; for he perceived plainly, by what he had been told by both the Cardinals he had treated with, that there was nothing to be done at *Rome* for the King's Service: The next Morning he received a Message from the Cardinal *Spada*, to let him know, *That the Pope would give him an Audience that Day*; but withal a Caution, *not to mention any other Affair to the Pope, besides that of the Clergy's Supplication to him, by whom only he pretended to be sent to Rome; for if he did offer to speak of any thing else, he would not be heard*: Upon this Message the Prior went presently to the Palace, and after a short Stay there, was introduced to the Pope, by a Gentleman of his Bed-chamber; the Pope, after the Prior had kissed his Foot, and paid him the other customary Venerations, asked him the same Questions he had been asked by the Cardinal *Spada*, to which the Prior returned the same Answers, and having put the Supplication of the Clergy of *Portugal* into the Pope's Hand: He laid before him, the deplorable State the Church of *Portugal* was in for want of Bishops, and which great Evil, he said, was at present attended with many ill Consequences, but that more and worse were to be feared, if it was
not

not remedied quickly : The Pope answered, *He was sensibly touched with the sad Condition that Church must be in for want of so many Pastors ; and that as he had a great Esteem for the Clergy of Portugal, whom he knew to be singular good Catholicks, by the Acquaintance he had with several of them at Madrid, when he was Nuncio there ; so he doubted not, but that God would direct him how to find a proper and an effectual Remedy for that great Evil they laboured under at present : Upon this Encouragement, the Prior having begun to mention the King's having named an Ambassador ; the Pope interrupted him, and said, That was another Business ; and then made a Sign to him to withdraw.*

The LETTERS of the Clergy of Portugal to the Pope.

Most Holy Father,

‘ **T**HE most serene King *John*, was,
 ‘ *jure post-liminii*, no sooner restored
 ‘ to his Throne, than he did, among other
 ‘ things, supplicate the most holy *Urban the*
 ‘ *Eighth*, who was Pope at that Time, after
 ‘ the usual manner to depute Bishops to the
 ‘ vacant Bishopricks in *Portugal* ; which
 ‘ mourned

‘ mourned because the Breasts of Doctrine,
‘ from which the Children of the Lord Christ
‘ did use to suck their Nutriment, were dried
‘ up ; but, to his great Grief, a deaf Ear
‘ was turned to that Supplication at *Rome*.

‘ We, the remaining Bishops, do in vain
‘ Labour to supply the want of so many Bi-
‘ shops ; things being now come to that pass,
‘ that of the thirteen Episcopal Sees in *Por-
‘ tugal*, ten are vacant, and nine Bishops are
‘ dead in the Conquests.

‘ This, most blessed Father, causes the
‘ violated Churches in many Regions to
‘ mourn, for their being so far from their
‘ Medicines ; the *Holy Oyl* being brought to
‘ some of them, with great Difficulty, above
‘ a hundred Leagues ; and so far they are
‘ obliged to go, who take Holy Orders : A-
‘ buses and bad Customs are rampant, and
‘ the Authority and Splendor of the Churches
‘ decrease, and grow daily weaker. Besides,
‘ *Portugal* being full of Sea-ports, and much
‘ frequented by all foreign Nations, of diffe-
‘ rent Religions and Rites, we are in great
‘ Anxiety, least the People, who have been
‘ so long from under the Severity of their
‘ Pastors, should contract some Contagion ;
‘ for we know the Manners of Heresy, and
‘ that its Lips are as a dropping Honey-comb,
‘ though its End is as bitter as Wormwood.
‘ But our sollicitude for the Eastern Churches,

H

‘ lies

‘ lies the heaviest upon us ; for those Lands
‘ where a small Grain of *Mustard-seed* was
‘ grown up to a *mighty Tree*, and whose
‘ Fruits were gathered plentifully by many
‘ Nations, for six thousand Leagues, are now
‘ almost dried up ; so that it is to be feared,
‘ that the Briars of Idolatry may spring up
‘ there again, and that the Christian Harvest
‘ may degenerate into the Brambles and
‘ Thorns of Heresy. The Impatience of
‘ our People, has hitherto expressed it self in
‘ free Complaints, of having been denied
‘ that by *Mercy*, which ought to have been
‘ offered them by *Justice* : In the beginning
‘ they submitted, and being compelled by
‘ Necessity did require a Remedy, but now
‘ after so long a time, they are incensed by
‘ the Injury with strong Passions.

‘ In all former Ages, the Vicars of Christ
‘ were Intent on the Work of bringing the
‘ Princes of the Earth to receive Pastors from
‘ the Holy See, and to maintain the Liberty
‘ and Immunity of the Church ; but the
‘ Work at this time, is, that *Portugal* may
‘ obtain Bishops from the *Roman Pontiff*, and
‘ that he would fully and freely make use of
‘ the Power of the Keys ; so that no Succes-
‘ sor of St. *Peter's*, did ever see a Stranger,
‘ or a juster Supplication than this of ours is :
‘ And though we have laboured to persuade
‘ the People that this Silence of the Holy
‘ Aposto-

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‘ Apostolical See, ought not to be imputed to
‘ Contempt, but to some Myſtery or other ;
‘ we do now, after three Years are expired,
‘ in vain go about to cover Wounds which
‘ are ſwelled ſo high ; ſo that we are in fear
‘ leaſt the People imagining that they are
‘ thrown off by the *great Maſter of the Fami-*
‘ *ly*, may give over their pious Tears, and
‘ juſt Sighs : We did therefore, by the beſt
‘ way that we could think of, intend to
‘ have laid the dangerous State of this Church
‘ before *Urban the Eighth* your Predeceſſor,
‘ and earneſtly to have ſuppllicated him, that
‘ the Sheep that were committed to him by
‘ the Lord Chriſt, and which coſt the Son of
‘ God ſo dear, might not periſh in a Wilder-
‘ neſs, leaſt the Voice of our Brethren’s Blood
‘ ſhould have cried againſt us in the Day of
‘ the Lord. And the having ſeen not only
‘ the Apoſtolical Gates, but Ears alſo, ſhut
‘ againſt the Tears and Sighs of the *Portu-*
‘ *gueſes* only, of all the Nations of the Earth,
‘ has cauſed the Church of *Portugal* to cry
‘ out, with Sorrow, *O all ye that paſs by,*
‘ *hearken and ſee, if there be any Sorrow like*
‘ *my Sorrow.* But having in the mean time
‘ received the News of the moſt Holy *Ur-*
‘ *ban’s* Death, and of your Beatitude’s happy
‘ Exaltation to the Pinnacle of the Apoſtoli-
‘ cal Dignity, we thanked God for his ha-
‘ ving ſet ſo great a Paſtor over his Church,

‘ and we rejoiced very much, believing that
‘ the great and good God had deferred
‘ the yielding of Comfort to the distressed
‘ Churches of *Portugal*, that he might re-
‘ serve the Glory of giving it to your Holi-
‘ nefs.

‘ Being full of Hopes, we the few Bishops
‘ who do now attend to the sacred Govern-
‘ ment of *Portugal*, together with the Chap-
‘ ters of the vacant Sees, being met together
‘ in Charity, and the same Spirit, have sent
‘ *Nicholas Montiro*, Doctor of Laws, and
‘ Abbot of the famous Collegiate Church of
‘ *Cedofeita*, to your Holiness, as our Envoy;
‘ by whom your Holiness will be informed
‘ of these Matters, and of greater, which
‘ were not fit to be committed to writing:
‘ We do therefore with Reverence and great
‘ Earnestness beseech you to give Credit to
‘ the things, which he, when prostrate at
‘ your holy Feet, will lay before you.

‘ Most holy Father, the Sheep of *Portu-
gal*, which hitherto have been despised,
‘ and do stray in the Wilderness of the
‘ World, do pine after Food, and there are
‘ scarce any to break Bread to them; and
‘ though the Faith remains unshaken in the
‘ *Portugueses*, and their Obedience and Re-
‘ verence for the Apostolical See do stand
‘ firm; yet we do fear, lest upon so great a
‘ Want of Bishops, Priests, and Sacrificers,
‘ our

‘ our Adversary the Devil may offer them
‘ the Cup of *Babylon*, which is guilt on the out-
‘ side ; imploring you the chief Pastor, and
‘ transmitting their repeated Cries to you,
‘ and being oppressed do flee to you, for
‘ they cannot be satisfied with being fed by
‘ any other but your Holiness ; knowing, if
‘ they were defended with your Staff, they
‘ would have no cause to fear their being de-
‘ voured by any wild Beast : We know
‘ your holy and paternal Breast ; suffer not
‘ the Ambition of Mortals therefore to dis-
‘ turb the Cause of God, before so great
‘ Majesty.

‘ By the living God therefore, by your
‘ Self; by your Majesty, by the Sanctity of
‘ the holy *Roman* Church, succour our Grief
‘ in Time, O most holy Father ! and suffer
‘ not the Church of *Portugal*, which is your
‘ own, to consume away in her nobler Parts ;
‘ for upon your Oracle, the Safety of our
‘ Church and We do solicitously depend :
‘ And we do from our Hearts pray that the
‘ great and good God may long preserve
‘ your Beatitude to the Church, and out of
‘ ours may increase your Years.

This Letter is writ in so studied and de-
clamatory a Stile, the common Fault of *Spa-
nish* Writers, that I am not sure of my having
hit its true meaning in every Sentence, though
in the main I believe I have.

The Prior, a few Days after he had his Audience of the Pope, waited on the Cardinal *Spada*, to know whether the Pope was come to any Resolution about his Business; the Cardinal told him, ' It was an Affair of great Weight, and that having been treated of in *Urban's* Time, and not ended before his Death, nothing could be done in it, before the Pope had Information, from his Collector in *Portugal*, how Matters stood there; and that though by Reason of many Accidents, this had never been proposed before, yet it would be now required, and expected; and that after the Pope had that Information, he would return an Answer to the Supplication which he had brought from the Clergy; and till then he was not to expect one.

This new fetch perfectly stunned the poor Prior when he heard it; but having recovered himself a little, he said, ' That though he did not doubt of his Holiness's pure and good Intention in this; yet he had great Reason to doubt, whether he should receive a true Information from that Collector, who was a Person much suspected by the Clergy of *Portugal*': The Cardinal answered, *The Burden of that Affair would be still on the Pope's Shoulders; neither was it to be doubted, but that he would take Care of it, as he did of all other Matters; and the Prior having*

ving happened to say something of the Obligation St. *Peter's* Successors were under to furnish all Places with Bishops, and especially Diocesses, which had had none, in seven, eight, nine, and ten Years; the Cardinal asked him, *Where those Diocesses were?* And having been told their Names by the Prior, he said, *The King of Spain was contented, that the Portuguese Bishops which were retired into his Dominions, should return to their Churches to take Care of them:* To that the Prior made no Answer, but told the Cardinal, that if constant Fame might be believed, the present Pope himself whilst he was a Cardinal in *Urban's* Time, did declare, in the first Congregation that was assembled about this Affair of *Portugal*, that though an Ambassador from thence ought not then to be received, yet if one were sent after three Years, that he ought to have an Audience given him: The Cardinal said nothing to that, not caring it is like to tell the Prior, that the Pope when he set that time, did reckon that within it *Portugal* would have been reduced by *Spain*, and so an end would have been put to this Controversy; but having warned the Prior, to moderate his Equipage, for fear of raising Envy, he dismissed him.

The Prior finding that he lost, rather than got Ground upon the Pope, and his Cardinals; as in Truth, by his Writings, which I

have seen, he appears not to have been a Man of Talents equal to his Business, so as to be a Match for the Politick *Italians*, which he had to deal with ; he applied himself to the *French* Ambassador, who was a Man of great Parts, as the Ambassadors of that Crown commonly are ; and desired him to speak to the Pope, and to press the Affair of *Portugal* hard upon him : That Ambassador who had strict Orders from the Court of *France*, to push on that Business with his whole Strength, having suffered the Prior to try what he was able to do without him, did, upon his ill Success, undertake it warmly ; and at the first Audience he had of the Pope, he briskly told him, that his Master expected the Crown of *Portugal* should have Justice done it at *Rome*, in having his Ambassador received, who was preparing to come thither ; and all its vacant Bishopricks filled, with those the King had named to them : But the Pope, whose Affection for *Spain*, mixed with some Fears of Her, had made him resolve to grant neither of those Demands, did fence stoutly against being brought by the Ambassador to grant or deny either of them positively ; so he told the Ambassador that he could say nothing to either of those two Points, before he had a full Information from his Collector in *Portugal*, where he was told there were Laws which infringed the Liberty of the holy Church,

Church, and several Bishops were imprisoned, with divers other Abuses; of all which he must know the true State before he could give any Answer to the things which he demanded of him: In this put-off the Pope seems to have had a double Aim; the one was to gain time, hoping the *Spaniards* might in a little while put an end to this Controversy, by reducing *Portugal* to their Obedience; and the other was to have made Use of this Opportunity to have got the Laws he complained of repealed, which were *the imprisoning of Ecclesiasticks in some disputable Cases; and the Churches not being permitted to have any more Land given her, without the King's Licence;* which Laws, when they were alledged by the *Venetians* to justify their having made the same, *Bellarmino's* Answer to them was, that they had been in *Portugal* time out of Mind, and had probably been made with the Pope's Consent, which the *Venetians* could not pretend to have, being at that time laid under an Interdict by the Pope for having made them: But the Ambassador insisting warmly on having an Answer presently, the Pope was forced at last to promise to appoint a Junta of Cardinals, to consider what could be done as to the Point of the vacant Bishopricks; but for the other Point of the Ambassador, he said he could not meddle with it, the Title to the Crown

Crown of *Portugal* not having been referred to his Arbitriment, by either of the Pretenders to it. And accordingly he named the Cardinals *Capponi*, *Barbarino*, *Ginetti*, *Sacchetti*, *Palletti*, *Panceiorola*, *Pamphilio*, and *Cochini*, to make up that Junta, and who having met together, three Expedients were started by them.

The First was, that the King of *Portugal* should present one, and the King of *Spain* another, to every one of the vacant Bishopricks, and who should both be precognized by the Pope; and this, they said, could be no wrong to those who were presented by the King of *Portugal*, seeing that King would not suffer those who were presented by *Spain*, to come to their Diocesses which were within his Dominions: And to justify this Expedient, they quoted St. *Austin* and *Valerius's* having been both Bishops of *Hippo* at the same time.

The Second was, That King *John* should be named in the Pope's Provisions; but that he should be stiled in them, *The Possessor of the Kingdom*.

The Third was, That the Pope should present the Persons to the vacant Bishopricks who had been named to them by the King of *Portugal*, but that he should present them *Motu proprio*, without any mention of either of the Kings.

The

The First and Second of these Expedients, having been rejected by the Prior, the Pope waved them both ; but insisted on the Third ; and did accordingly in a full Consistory, *proprio Motu*, provide the Church of *Guarda* of Don *Peter a Lancastro*, that of *Miranda* of Don *Peter Menezes*, and that of *Viseu* of Don *Emanuel de Saldania* ; who were the Persons that had been named to those Bishopricks by the King ; but without any mention of the King's Name in the Provisions : And as the King of *Portugal* would never allow of those *Motu proprio* Presentations, so the Pope adhered to them to the last ; and having declared, that he was ready to present to all the rest of the vacant Bishopricks, in the same manner ; after that, he still answered all Applications that were made to him, with telling those that made them, *That he had done all that was in his Power to have filled the vacant Bishopricks in Portugal, and its Conquests ; but if the King would not receive the Bishops whom he had presented, though they were of his own Nomination, he could not help it.* And having thus put the King of *Portugal* in the wrong, as he hoped the World would think ; after this, the great Evils and Miseries which attended so great a Want of necessary Pastors in *Portugal*, and in its Conquests, were aggravated more at *Rome*, and in *Spain*, than they were before by the *Portugueses* ; and were all charged to the

the Duke of *Braganza's* Account, as they stiled him; who, they said would suffer the Church of *Portugal* to perish for want of Pastors, rather than admit of those who had been presented by the Pope. And as this was a popular Story, so the *Spaniards* made use of it, to have prejudiced the *Portugueses* against their new King: However, the Court of *Portugal* was resolved to venture all, rather than allow the Pope to present to their Bishopricks *Motu proprio*, without naming the King as the Patron of them; and though several of the Cardinals declared, that this Promotion should not be made use of as a Preident to the Prejudice of any former Right; yet as the Pope himself did never make any such Declaration, so if he had, the Court of *Portugal* would not have trusted to it, being sensible, as they themselves published, *How difficult a thing it was ever to recover any thing from the Papacy, which it had been once allowed to assume*: And in this Persuasion the *Portugueses* were much confirmed, by some of the Cardinals having told the Prior, that the King of *Portugal* had no Right to present to any Bishoprick within his Dominions; no such Priviledge having ever been granted to that Crown, by any Pope; nor had it ever been practised in *Portugal*, before the King of *Spain* came to be King of her, who had the Priviledge of presenting to all the Bishopricks within

within his Dominions; and there was no Reason that *Portugal* now she had thrown that King off, should enjoy any Priviledge that belonged to her, only as she was a part of his Dominions: To this the *Portugueses* answered, That though it was true, that their *Portuguese* Kings being all much devoted to the *Roman* See, had still supplicated the Popes to confirm the Bishops which they had named to them; yet there was no Reason, that for using that humble Form, they should lose the Patronage of all the Bishopricks within their Dominions: For as that Supplication had been always, in their King's Intention, tantamount to a Presentation, so it had been constantly the same in Fact; none for whom their King had supplicated, having ever been refused by the Popes; no more than if they had been presented by them to their Bishopricks. Now by this the World may see, as I have elsewhere observed, how dangerous it is for Princes, or Bishops, to be liberal in bestowing Compliments upon Popes, who, on many Occasions, have given such a Turn to Compliments, as to make them the Foundation of some acknowledged Right or other; though nothing was farther from their Thoughts who paid the Popes those humble Civilities, than the acknowledging any such Right by them.

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The great Inconveniencies also, which attended Persons being presented to Dignities and Benefices in *Portugal* by the Pope, *proprio Motu*, were much insisted on this Occasion: For whereas all the Dignities and Benefices which are in the Gift of the Bishops, that do fall in one six Months of the Year, are of the Pope's Presentation; so these Dignities and Benefices were commonly provided of Clerks who did the Church no Service, nor their Patron much Honour: So that were it not for the *Portugueses* sacrificing their Resentments of the great Inconveniencies which they daily felt, by means of those Presentations, to the Reverence they had for the Apostolical See, those Presentations would lie under a very great Scandal in the World; most of those Dignities and Benefices being conferred by the Nuncio, or by his Officers, upon Persons of no known Merit, besides that of having Money; and who are for the most part absolute Strangers to those that are so kind as to help them to their Presentations; and if *Portugal*, said they, suffers so much by having her inferior Dignities and Benefices presented to in that manner, how much worse would it be for her to have all her Bishopricks bestowed so?

And thus the *Roman* See never fails when Kingdoms are in Distress, and do stand in need of her help, to fish for one Advantage

or another for her self out of their being in such Circumstances : So that if they will have her Help, they must buy it dear : And by such Steps it was that the Popes ascended to that Height of Grandeur the World sees them in at present : Though, it is true, that since the Restoration of Learning, and which was a consequence of that, the Reformation, the Popes, on such Occasions, have not been able to drive so good Bargains for themselves as as they used to do before.

The Prior having still remained at *Rome*, though, for any Hopes he had of doing Business there, he might well have left it sooner ; he was affronted in the Streets by some *Spaniards*, as he was going to Church ; and who having picked a Quarrel with his Footmen, they shot one of them dead that was close to the Coach ; and the Prior having dropped down off his Seat at the same Time, it was believed he was shot too ; but having been taken for dead out of his Coach, as they were searching for his Wounds, he came to himself, without any Hurt about him, but what the Fright had caused ; and the *Russians*, who had made this Insult, having fled strait to the House of the *Spanish* Ambassador, that Minister, though he denied it, was suspected of having had an Hand in it ; however, the Pope believed it, and resented it so much, that all the Interest *Spain* had in *Rome*, and in the Pope's Affections,

tions, could never, after that, procure that Ambassador an Audience.

The Prior, upon this Disaster, having received a Compliment from the Pope, began to have some Hopes of Success in his Business; but having had an Audience granted him when he first desired it, he found the Pope immoveably resolved not to grant Bishops to *Portugal*, by any other Way but by that of *Motu proprio*: So the Prior left *Rome*, and returned to *Lisbon*, where he published *An Account of his Embassy*, for so he would still call it; but in such a Stile, and with so many Excursions, for no other End but to flourish with a Collection of innumerable Scraps of *Latin*, that though it is no great Book, he must have abundance of Patience that reads it over.

The King of *Portugal* now perceiving, that no Hopes remained of procuring Bishops from the Pope, by any other Way but by that of *Motu proprio*, and which he was resolved never to admit; he first consulted his own Divines, and afterwards the Doctors of the *Sorbon*, for Directions what to do in this Case: Three Expedients were offered to the King, and which I believe came all from the *Sorbon*, though it is not said they did.

The *First* was, That seeing the Kingdom of *Portugal* was in great Distress, for want of Bishops, and the Pope, though he had been
applied

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applied to by all the Ways that could be thought of, had denied her his Succour; that the King was therefore, both by Conscience, and in Policy bound, to resent this, as the greatest Injury that could be done to his Crown, and to his Kingdom; and to make the Pope sensible of his resenting it so, by sequestering all the Fruits and Pensions, which were paid out of *Portugal* to any Ecclesiastick residing in *Rome*, whether a Native, or a Foreigner: And by strictly forbidding the sending of any Money, to the *Roman* Court out of his Dominions upon any Account whatsoever; and by divers other Ways, which the *Portugueses* say their Veneration for the *Roman* See would not suffer them to record, and so we cannot tell what they were.

The *second* Expedient was, That the King, since there remained no Hopes of being able to obtain Bishops from the Pope, by a Way which he could allow of; should cause the several Chapters of the vacant Bishopricks, to chuse the Ecclesiasticks whom he had named to them; and who, being thus chosen, and consecrated Bishops, should take upon them the Government of their Diocesses: And this was maintained to be lawful, from Bishops having their *Jurisdiction*, no less than their *Order*, immediately from Christ; whereas the modern Custom of Bishops, though
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they are consecrated, not exercising any Jurisdiction before they have Power from the Pope to do it, was said to be founded only on an Ecclesiastical Constitution, and which was of no old Date neither in *Spain* it self: That in the *West-Indies* to this Day, the Ecclesiasticks, who are named by the King, or by the Viceroy, are consecrated, and do exercise a full Jurisdiction within their Diocesses, long before they have any Briefs of Confirmation from the Pope: And that an Archbishop, in those Parts, for having lately, out of a Scruple of Conscience, as he pretended, represented that Custom to the Pope as a dangerous Abuse, had been severely reprimanded by the King of *Spain*.

The *third* Expedient was, That considering the great Distress *Portugal* and its Conquests were in, for want of Bishops; and that they could have none from *Rome*; the King, with the Consent of the Clergy, should call a National Synod, and which being met, should chuse a Patriarch to govern *Portugal* in Spirituals, till recourse might be had to the *Roman* Pontiff; this was maintained to be agreeable to the primitive Government of the Church; to which, the Distress the Church of *Portugal* was in at present, would justify her returning: And to which, if they durst have spoke out, it is probable that they would have added, that the Inconveniencies
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which at first gave Occasion to those great Changes in the Ecclesiastical Constitution, were nothing near so great as those were, which the Church of *Portugal* at that Time, by Reason of the Pope's Obstinacy, groaned under ; nor in Truth, as she, and all other Churches which are subject to him, are under constantly, even when he is in his best Humour with them : For when any thing established by Men, only to prevent an Inconveniency, comes it self to be a greater, it ought to be laid aside, for the same Reason that it was at first established.

These Expedients, which were well received by the Court of *Portugal*, but especially the second, being in the King's Hands ; he did resolve, since nothing was to be got at *Rome* by Submissions, to try what threatening the Pope with providing Bishops for themselves, if he would not give them any, would do : And accordingly, he ordered Father *Nuno de Cunha*, his Agent at *Rome*, to let the Pope understand so much, and to observe how he resented it ; and which that Father did, in the Year 1647, in a long and very shrewd Memorial, whose Heads I shall here set down : In it, he told the Pope,

That God had raised King *John* to the Possession of his Kingdom of *Portugal*, to which he was called, not only by Right of Inheritance, derived from his great Grand-

father, the Infante *Don Edward*; but also by the Laws of the Kingdom; and that he had not entered upon it with Violence, as *Philip* the Second did, without regarding what Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth had writ to him against doing it; but had been called to it by the three Estates of the Kingdom, by whom *Philip* the Fourth King of *Castile* had been deposed, for having broken the Oath which he had taken to preserve the Laws and Privileges of *Portugal*: And that King *John*, notwithstanding, when he took Possession, did find the Kingdom disarmed and poor, every thing of Value having been carried out of it by the *Castilians*; yet had withstood all the Treasons which had been enterprized against his Person, and the Armies which had attempted to invade his Frontiers, having been always victorious, and that without any Dependence or Succour from any Foreign Prince; from whence his Holiness might gather, how deceitful the Assurances were which the *Castilians* had given, of conquering *Portugal* in a short time, if there were a Peace once without *Portugal* being comprehended in it; and who judged it to be more profitable and more honourable for them, to make a Peace with the *Hollanders*, who are Hereticks, and their Vassals, than with *Portugal* which is a free and Catholick Kingdom: And that the King, to justify himself with his Holiness,

ness, had declared, that in case the Catholick King denied to admit of the just Means of an Accommodation, to which he was ready to agree ; that he did take God to witness, that if the Succours from *France*, with whom he professed an inseparable Amity, should not be sufficient ; that he must then, in his own Defence, be forced to make use of the Arms of *Sweden*, and of *England* ; though at the same time, it would be a great trouble to him, to see *Spain* in a Flame of War, and of Heresy ; when he would gladly employ the Valour of his Subjects, and spend his Treasures against Hereticks and Infidels, a Spirit which he inherited from his glorious Ancestors : And that the King, as an obedient Son of the Church, did as soon as he was proclaimed, send the Bishop of *Lamego*, who was of his Council of State, to have given Obedience to the chief Pontiff, *Urban* the Eighth : But who, after a Year's Stay in *Rome*, was not able to obtain an Audience : And that the Ecclesiastical Estate of *Portugal*, had afterwards, with the King's Consent, sent the Prior of *Cedofeita*, Bishop Elect of *Portalegre*, to *Rome*, to treat concerning the Provision of Bishops ; and that they had both been assaulted in the chief Streets by *Castilians*, with an Intention to have murdered them ; without attending to the Veneration and Respect which ought to be preserved in the

Presence of the chief Pontiff: And that the King had likewise determined to have sent the Marquis *de Nisa* for his Ambassador to *Rome*, but, that he might not run the risque of a second Affront, having got *Gremonvil* Ambassador of *France*, to ask his Holiness leave for that Minister to come, it was denied; though all that was desired was, that he might in the Name of a Catholick Prince give Obedience to Christ's Vicar: And that the King notwithstanding all this ill Usage, yet had restored to the Apostolical See, and to its Officers, that Jurisdiction which had been taken from it by the King of *Castile*, when he ordered the Bishop of *Castracane* the Apostolical Collector, to be committed to Prison; and that he had farther ordered the Censures which were before despised, for to be observed; and had commanded the Officers of the Crown to submit themselves to the Auditor of the Vice-Collector, and to beg an Absolution of him; neither had the King suffered those Officers before they had done it to come into his Presence, nor to execute their Offices; and did likewise resolve, to oblige them to restore to that Collector, when he returned to *Portugal*, all the Ecclesiastical Rents which the *Castilians* had usurped, with all the Writings and Papers which they had taken from him; and to have put an End to all Disputes about that Affair; and to have ordered

dered the Alms of the *Bulla Cruzada*, which is applied to the Fabrick of St. *Peter's* Church in *Rome*, to have been paid to the Apostolical See, which they had not been in many Years before : But that none of these *Fineza's* had been able to oblige the Apostolical See to grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*, which was the thing the King desired above all others : And that as our Lord Christ had committed the care of Souls to his Holiness, so the Blood of all the Souls which perished in *Portugal*, for want of Pastors, would lie upon his Holiness's Conscience ; and that this great want of Pastors extended it self, with a lamentable Ruin, to the vast Dominions which the Crown of *Portugal* had in *Asia*, *Africa*, and *America* ; where in many Places, the Sacraments were not administred for want of Parish-Priests : And that whereas it had been the constant Custom of the chief Pontiffs, to have all Affairs of great Moment discussed in a publick or private Consistory ; this Affair, though there cannot be a weigh-tier, has never been suffered to be brought in-to one ; for which, the King can think of no other Reason, but there not being one Cardinal that would offer to counsel his Holiness not to suffer so many Souls to perish for lack of Pastors, rather than confirm the Bishops which the King, after the Example of his Ancestors, had presented to the vacant

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Churches ; and especially after it had been determined in the Council of *Trent*, that *Kings*, or *Possessors of Kingdoms*, should present to all Bishopricks within their Dominions : Neither could the King of *Castile*, being a Catholick, be displeased with his Holiness for executing a Decree of that Council : That the Pontiffs were not Judges of Titles to Crowns ; neither would *Philip* the Second suffer them to be so, when he took Possession of *Portugal* ; but their Business was still to attend to the good of Souls ; and being Christ's Vicars on Earth, they reckoned it their Duty to be equally the common Fathers of all Catholicks : Whereas his Holiness had taken a contrary Way with *Portugal*, and had treated her Prince, neither as a King nor a Catholick ; and though his Holiness might be certain, that he had never so much as in Thought sinned against the Apostolical See, yet he had treated him, as if he had been an Heretick or an Infidel : And though the Temporal State of the Church in *Italy*, might have a dependance on the King of *Castile*, its Spiritual State, was not less beholding to *Portugal*, which had exceeded all other Nations in a Zeal for augmenting the Faith, and a Veneration and Obedience to the Church, which she had with great Losses and Troubles carried to the most remote Parts of the World : That *Clement* the Seventh had lost the Kingdom

dom of *England*, for having judged it necessary for him to accommodate himself to the Dictates of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth; and which Emperor did in a short time after make a Peace with *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England*, without regarding the Pope; and so did suffer the Catholick Faith to be lost in that Kingdom; neither did he ever treat about the restoring the Lands to the Church, which the Hereticks had taken from her; and that *Clement* the Eighth did receive *Henry* the Fourth, into the Bosom of the Church, and stiled him King of *Navarr*, without any regard to the Diligences and Contradictions of *Philip* the Second, and his Ministers: That it was certain the King would not deny Obedience to the Apostolical See, nor to the chief Pontiff, nor would ever consent to Heresy or Schism; but if through military Liberty, and Commerce and Trade with Hereticks and Infidels, some things which are not decent, nor profitable to the Church, should arise, for want of Bishops, he hoped the blame of it would not fall upon his Conscience. Finally, that the King having consulted divers pious and learned Divines, within, and out of his Kingdom, was assured by them, *That he might act securely, as if there were no Access and Recourse to the Apostolical See; and that since there was not, it belonged to the Chapters, upon his Nomination, to chuse their*

their Bishops, as the Custom was formerly in Spain, and which is still observed in some Parts of it.

The Pope understood the old Ecclesiastical Customs of *Spain* too well not to feel the Sting that is in the close of this brisk Memorial; and so being sensible, that That was a Course which the *Portugueses* might take, and justify; he was in so much Pain, that it was believed, that if it had been insisted on, and pushed on briskly by the King of *Portugal*, that the Pope, to prevent its Execution, would certainly have granted Bishops to him in the usual manner.

But the Inquisition in *Portugal*, moved either by its own blind Bigotry, or by some secret Papal Engines, did soon after disarm their King of this useful Weapon: For they having taken all the fore-mentioned Expedients, but particularly that which related to the Chapters chusing of their Bishops, under their Examination, they did crudely, as well as impolitickly, condemn them all, as *Matters favouring of Heresy*; to the Pope's great Joy, who did not only extol that Court highly for its Zeal, but did declare, *That it had condemned a Proposition for him, which he should scarce have ventured to determine.* And thus the King of *Portugal* was robbed of the Arms the skill of *France* had helped him to, by the Bigotry of his own Subjects, and which

which would have brought the Pope to reason, had he believed the *Portugueses* to be in earnest with them: And the King himself, though he was animated to have held them still, in Contradiction to the unlearned Censure of the Inquisition, by the most eminent Divines in *Portugal*, and in *France*, he could not be persuaded to it; but either out of Respect to that Court, or out of Fear of it, did let them drop, neither did he suffer them to be made use of any more.

There were two things, which, during this Difference with the Pope, disturbed the Peace of *Portugal*, and of all its Conquests, the most sensibly.

The one was, the great Heats and Quarrels which were in all Monasteries and Convents of Friars and Nuns, about the Elections of their Superiors, and other Officers; for as the Regulars, Men and Women, are under none but the Pope, so there being no Nuncio, or other Papal Minister in *Portugal* at this time, to curb their keen Spirits, the Monasteries and Convents were all in a Flame, and like so many Bedlams rather than Religious Societies; there being no sort of People, that do thirst more eagerly after any Honours, or do use more indirect means to obtain them, than the Regulars do every where, to get into the Offices of their Order and Convents; and of this I have seen such

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Demonstrations, and under a Nuncio's Nose too, that I have often wondered, that the Pope, for his own Ease, and for the Peace and Quiet of Monasteries and Convents, does not take the Power of all Elections from them, into his own Hands; neither can I think of any other Reason for his not having done it, but only, that knowing their Tempers to be too eager to part with that Liberty quietly, he will not venture to attempt to take it from them, for fear of raising a loud Storm about his Ears: And in Truth, the Feuds were at this time so high in all the Monasteries and Convents, that the King was compelled to exercise the Royal Authority to keep them within some Bounds; notwithstanding he was sensible, that his doing of that, would be made use of to his great Prejudice in the Court of *Rome*; as it was, having been represented there by the *Spaniards*, as nothing less than an Usurpation of the Pontifical Authority.

The second was, the Behaviour of the Chapters of all the vacant Bishopricks; who having had the Administration of the whole Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, in their several Diocesses, in their Hands for many Years, were grown very corrupt, and were so imperious, that they used the inferiour Clergy very ill, and did use none worse than those that had been named by the King to the vacant Bishopricks;

shopricks ; whether they lived in their own Dioceſſes, or in any other that was vacant : And this Tyranny of the Chapters was riſen to that Height, that the nominated Biſhops not being able to bear it any longer, did aſſemble themſelves together in *Lisbon*, to ſee how a ſtop might be put to it ; and having come to a Reſolution to Petition the Pope to grant them the Exerciſe of the Epifcopal Jurisdiction, without mentioning the King, over their ſeveral Dioceſſes ; they did with the King's Leave, ſend an Agent to *Rome* to ſupplique the Pope for it : But the Pope, who always favours Chapters, and all other exempted Bodies, againſt their Biſhops, told the Agent plainly, *That he could not grant what they had deſired, without doing an Injury to the Chapters, to whom, by the Canons, the Epifcopal Jurisdiction over Dioceſſes, whilſt they were vacant, did belong :* And the Papal Miniſters, being vehemently urged by that Agent, he was told by them, *That they had reaſon to think, that they that ſent him, did graſp at Jurisdiction, more out of Ambition, than out of any Deſire they had to remedy the Evils they complained of ſo much.*

After this rude Repulſe, and which the Chapters were reckoned to have promoted by their ſecret Agents, I read of no Motion made in *Rome*, by *Portugal*, for above a Year ; when ſhe was roused to make one, by a new Stratagem

Stratagem of the Pope and *Spaniards* : The Plot was, to have sent a great Mission of Bishops and Friars, who were not *Portugueses*, and without taking any Notice of the King of *Portugal* in it, into the Kingdom of *Congo*; and in Pursuance of this Design, two Capuchin Friars, the one a *Spaniard*, and the other an *Italian*, who had lately come to *Rome* from those Parts, did give out, that they had been sent by the King of *Congo*, with the Character of Ambassadors, to yield Obedience, in his Name, to the Pope; and to supplicate to have some Bishops and Missionaries forthwith sent into his Kingdoms.

And as the Popes, for a long time, have affected, now and then to make a Noise with Embassies of Obedience being sent to them by some remote great King or other; so the Missionaries having observed that, have taken care to gratify him with such Embassies, as often as he is disposed to receive them; being pretty sure, that People, in this part of the World, will believe that they have those Characters, rather than go to the Courts they pretend to come from, to enquire into the Truth of their Credentials. So the two Capuchin Ambassadors of *Congo*, had a publick and very solemn Audience given them by the Pope; and having, in the Name of the great Christian King of *Congo*, their Master, kissed the Pope's Foot; they after-

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wards, in their Master's Name, supplicated for some Bishops and Missionaries to go forthwith to *Congo*; the Pope, with the Advice of the Congregation *de propaganda fide*, did name one Archbishop, two Bishops, and thirty Friars, to be sent thither, with all Expedition; his dear Son, the King of *Congo*, being said to expect them with great Impatience; neither was there one of the *Portuguese* Nation among all those Missionaries.

Father *Nuno*, who had opposed this Mission from the beginning, doubting he should not be able to hinder it, acquainted the Court of *Portugal* with it, as a Contrivance to affront the King, and to worm him out of his *African* Conquests: Upon that Intelligence, Doctor *Emanuel Carillo*, who, I suppose, was a Lawyer, was immediately dispatched to *Rome*, to remonstrate against that Mission, as a great Injury to the Court of *Portugal*, to which the Mission of *Congo* had always belonged; and to lay before the Pope, that as those Countries were first discovered by the *Portuguese*s, so ever since the Kingdom of *Angola* was conquered by them, there had been a close Friendship and Brotherhood betwixt the two Kings of *Portugal* and *Congo*; and by which means that King had been brought to Baptism: And as it was one of the Articles of that Union, that the Bishop of *Angola*, and the Canons of that Church,
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who are all *Portugueses*, and maintained by the Crown of *Portugal*, should assist at the Court of *Congo*; that so should that Mission be taken from the *Portugueses*, and put into the Hands of any other Nation, it would be of fatal Consequence to the Christianity of those Parts; there being no Catholick Prince near them, besides the King of *Portugal*, that had Forces to oppress the Boldness of the Heathens, or to hold the Christian Converts steady in the Faith: And that should the King of *Congo* separate himself from the Crown of *Portugal*, as that Crown would be obliged to make a War upon him; so the Consequence of that War, might be the establishing of the *Dutch* in those Parts; who, upon a misunderstanding betwixt the King of *Congo*, and the Governour of *Angola*, had been invited by that King into that Country; and in which they had already taken the City of *Loanda*, and several other Places from the *Portugueses*. *Carillo* likewise had Instructions to make an Offer to the Pope, that if he would confirm the Bishops which the King had nominated, and in their Breves mention the King as their Patron, that he would agree, that it should be inserted into them, *That it should not be to the Prejudice of the Pretensions of any Person whatsoever*; and that if this were not granted, that he should then supplicate the Pope, to appoint one of the remaining

maining Bishops in *Portugal*, to be his Visitor in that Kingdom, and in all its Conquests, and with so full a Power, that he might be able to extinguish the great Flames which were among the Regulars, about the Elections of their Superiors, and other Officers, to the great Scandal of the Seculars, and of the Laity. *Carillo* had likewise a Letter to the Pope, from the *Cortez* of the Kingdom, which was sitting at that time, full of passionate Complaints of the deplorable State Religion was reduced to, in *Portugal*, and in all its large Conquests, for want of Pastors.

But *Gallio* cared for none of those things; perceiving plainly by their Letter, that out of Reverence to the Inquisition, they, as well as the King, had laid down the only Arms which could dislodge him out of his *Mota proprio*, in which he had entrenched himself so strongly.

When *Carillo* came to *Rome*, he found the *Congo* Mission advanced so far, that the Missionaries having received their last Dispatches from the Pope, were preparing to begin their Journey into *Spain*; where they were to be supplied with Money, and all other secular Provisions; the Merit of that Part in all Missions, being constantly left by the Pope to some secular Prince or other.

But what the King of *Portugal* would not have been able to have diverted, by com-

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plaining of its being a great wrong to him ; had an End put to it, by the certain News of the City of *Loanda's* being taken from the *Dutch* by the *Portugueses*, having come to *Spain* before the Missionaries had embarked : By the Recovery of which City, the *Portugueses* had got the Bridle into their Hands again, which they had formerly put into the Mouth of their Christian Ally and Brother the King of *Congo* : As to the other two Supplications, which *Carillo* was to have made, they were both rejected with Scorn ; the *Spaniards* hopes of being able to conquer *Portugal* in a short time, being, upon the Peace of *Munster*, which was now concluded, raised too high, for those Supplications, or for the *Cortez's* Letter, to meet with a favourable Reception at *Rome*.

The King of *Portugal* likewise, now that the House of *Austria* had a Peace with the *Dutch* and *Swedes*, did begin to dread the Power of *Spain* more than he had before ; and was for that Reason more sollicitous than ever to have got the Pope to have acknowledged him : And not seeing any other way by which that could be brought about, but by gaining *Donna Olympia*, the Pope's Niece, and by whom he was entirely governed, to be his Advocate ; he applied himself to that Lady, by the Method all the World knew she was to be gained, and so having made her

her very costly Presents, she undertook his Cause, and with those Appearances of Zeal for it, that the King did not doubt but that he should gain his Point ; but whether that Lady, who was believed to have the Keys of the Papacy at her Girdle, as much as Pope *Joan*, if there was ever any such Pope, did play the *Portugueses* a trick for the rich Presents which they had made her, and did never intend to assist them in their Business ; or was not able to prevail with the Pope her Uncle, which few believed ; this secret chargeable Negotiation came to nothing : And the King not knowing what Course to take next, the *Cortez* which was then assembled, did undertake that Business again, and did send the Pope a passionate and very long Letter about it ; but as this Letter, no more than their former, did threaten the Pope, that if he did not forthwith grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*, that she would help her self to those she wanted, and by a way more agreeable to the Practice of the *Spanish* Church in her purest Ages, than this of sending to *Rome* for Bishops was ; so it had no more Respect paid to it by the Pope. I shall not insert that Letter here, though I have it by me, all, and more than is in it, being contained in the Memorial, of which I have given the Heads ; only the miserable State the Church of *Portugal*, and all its Conquests, was in

the Year 1649, for want of Pastors, I shall here set down, as it was laid by that *Cortex* before the Pope, and in their own Words.

THE Kingdoms of *Portugal* and *Algarves*, do consist of thirteen Cathedral Churches; of which three, *Braga*, *Lisbon*, and *Ebora*, are Metropolitans; and in these, and the others, which are *Conimbra*, *Guarda*, *Lamego*, *Visseu*, *Porto*, *Algarves*, *Miranda*, *Leiria*, *Portalegre*, and *Elvas*; there is only one Prelate in *Elvas*, which is the least in the whole Kingdom; and who does not reside in his Diocese neither, being dispensed with by your Holiness, on the Account of his being Dean of the Royal Chapel.

In *Asia*, which comprehends above three thousand Leagues, inhabited by People and Colonies of our Nation, five Bishops are wanting, they are *Cochim*, *Malaca*, *Meliapor*, *China*, and *Japan*: And two only are there, the one in *Goa*, and the other in *Cranganor*; but who are both so laden with Years and Infirmities, that we may well say, the Solitude of those two Churches, is equal to that of the rest.

In *Africa*, where there is the like Dilatation of our Empire, obedient to the *Roman* Church, four Bishops are wanting, who are all the past Chief Pontiffs have assigned to those large Provinces; and in many Years there has been no Bishops in the City of *Tangier*, the
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Frontier to the *Moors*, and which, to the Glory of the Church, sanctified *Africa*, to *Mahomet's* great Grief: Neither is there any Bishop in the City of *Santiago*, which comprehends the nine populous Islands of *Cabo Verde*; it is the same with the Island *St. Thomas*, which extends it self along the Coast of *Guinea*, a Country most fertile in the Conversion of Idolaters: Neither is there a Bishop in the City of *St. Paul* of *Loanda*, the Metropolis of the vast Kingdoms of *Angola*.

In *America*, there is not one Bishop in the whole populous Territory of *Brasil*, whose Jurisdiction extends it self above two thousand and two hundred Leagues by Land; and is peopled with rich Towns, Garrisons, and Cities, and of which, the greatest Part at this time are infested by the Nations of the North; who watching over our Carelessness, are labouring to introduce their Heresies, with the same Craft, with which they have spread them over the whole World; and the Perfidy of the *Jews*, for want of Prelates, meets with a very weak Opposition: So that to our great Grief, we see the large Vineyard, which was planted by our Priests, plucked up by the Roots, without Remedy, and Tares sowed in it by the Enemies of the Gospel.

The Islands in the Ocean, which are adorned with stately Cities, and with two Cathed-

dral Churches, do mourn under the same common Misery, by reason of their having been so long neglected by the Apostolical See; *Angra*, which is the most populous, and has seven Islands subject to her, has not seen, nor known her Pastor for many Years: And the City of *Funchal*, the Head of the Isle of *Madera*, is now likewise without a Bishop; after having been divers Years without the Pastoral Exercise, by reason of the great Age her last Bishop lived too.

As this Account magnifies the Empire of *Portugal* strangely; so the Countries which the *Portugueses* do still call their Conquests, a Nation of less Vanity would call their Plantations only; all or most of the *Portugueses*, having settled themselves in those Regions at first, either with the Consent of the Natives, or with too little Fighting, to Glory in them as their Conquests: For many more Men's Lives have been often lost in the taking of one Town in *Europe*, than the *Portugueses* lost in Fight, in making the Conquests, which they say here do extend themselves many Thousands of Miles.

But as none of these Things moved the Pope, so the King finding that all that *Portugal* could do at *Rome*, signified nothing; he ordered his Ambassador in *Paris*, to try if he could engage the Court of *France* to use
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all its Interest in *Rome* in his Favour: And which that Court having promised to do; a Commission was presently dispatched to the Cardinal *d' Este*, not to give over soliciting the Pope, until he had granted Bishops to *Portugal*: And which the Cardinal, who was a brisk young Prince, executed with so great Heat and Vigour, that the Pope being grown quite sick of his incessant Importunities, he told him one Day, *His Conscience was troubled with a very painful Scruple*; and having been asked by the Cardinal what it was, the Pope answered, *It is for having suffered you to stay so long in Rome, to the great Prejudice of your Church, where you ought to reside, and to take Care of your Flock*: The Cardinal replied, *Your Holiness's Scruple is very just*; but asked him at the same time, *whether the Churches of Portugal, and of all its Conquests, having had no Bishops for many Years to take Care of them, had not raised a more tormenting Scruple in his Holiness's Conscience*. The Pope was so incensed with this brisk Repartee, that turning away from the Cardinal, he said to those that were about him, *I will take the Cap from this Boy*; to which the Cardinal, before the Words were well out of his Mouth, replied, *If you do, I will put on one of Steel*: And so having flung out from the Pope's Presence, without any Ceremony, he went strait to his own Palace, which he turned into a Garri-
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son ; taking into it a great Number of Armed Men, and planting Ordnance at his Gates, and in the Windows. But though this Heat betwixt the Pope and the Cardinal, was soon over, and the Pope's painful Scruple of Conscience was removed, without the Cardinal's leaving *Rome* to go to his Church, from which he had been so long absent ; the Affair of *Portugal* remained in the same Posture it was in before.

But the King, who would leave no Stone unturned, having been informed that an Assembly of the Clergy of *France* was to meet in *Paris* in the Year 1652, he commanded his Ambassador in that Court, to attend that Assembly, and to desire them to make an earnest Application to the Pope, in their own Names, in the behalf of the distressed Church of *Portugal*, and of its Conquests ; and that Assembly, having received Orders from the Court to undertake that Affair, after some Consultations, they came to a Resolution, not only to write to the Pope about it, which they had done some Years before to no purpose, but to send an Envoy to *Rome*, to press it home upon the Pope's Conscience ; and having named the Bishop of *Beaujeu*, the most celebrated Prelate in *France*, at that time, for Parts, Piety, and Learning, for that Employment ; they sent the following Letter by him.

The Clergy of France's Letter to the Pope.

‘ **H**AVING been asked by the most serene
‘ King of *Portugal*, what Course he
‘ should take to prevent the Christian Religi-
‘ on being totally lost among his Subjects,
‘ by reason of the Churches in his Kingdoms
‘ being without Bishops; and there having
‘ been always a close Correspondence betwixt
‘ the Ecclesiastical Estates of *France* and
‘ *Portugal*, he desired us to declare our
‘ Thoughts of that Matter.

‘ We the Bishops of the Church of *France*,
‘ have now Recourse to your Holiness a se-
‘ cond time about that Affair; and do ac-
‘ quaint you, most Holy Father, that the
‘ State, the Church of *Portugal* is in at present,
‘ is such, that none can be more prejudicial
‘ to the People, nor more dangerous to Re-
‘ ligion, nor so likely to stir up the Envy of
‘ evil Men against your Holiness: We are
‘ not ignorant, that your Holiness being a
‘ Person of great Wisdom and Experience,
‘ cannot but foresee all those Dangers; nor
‘ of your retaining still a fatherly Affection
‘ for the Church of *Portugal*; though by
‘ reason of great Consideration, you have hi-
‘ therto been with-held from relieving and
‘ comforting her miserable Widowhood.

‘ Where-

‘ Wherefore We, who cannot but be sensibly touched with the great Losses, and the immense Grief of our Sister, are persuaded that it is our Duty to solicit your Holiness a second Time, and to urge you now with much more Vehemence ; and for that reason, we do not only send your Holiness this Letter, but we do also send to you the Bishop of *Beaujeu*, who for his great Talents, and Piety, and for the Esteem he is in among us, cannot but be very acceptable to your Holiness.

‘ Hear the Church of *France*, which calls upon you, to succour *Portugal* in her great Distress, and to attend to the Dignity of the Apostolical See, and to prevent a Schism, the worst of all Evils ; and to drive away the Wolves, which, whilst there are no Pastors in *Portugal*, will destroy its Fold. To create new Bishops, to prepare People for God, and to provide Churches, which are under a desolate Widowhood of Spouses, as soon as it is possible, that Religion may not suffer for want of them, has been in Truth always the first Care of the chief Pontiffs : And if, as St. *Cyprian* saith, the Origin of Heresies is the Bishop, who is one, being despised by some of his Subjects ; your Holiness may easily foresee, how great the danger of Heresy and Schism must be, which threatens the Church of *Portugal*, in which

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‘ at this time, there is but one single Bishop,
‘ and who is very ancient too. You may
‘ answer all the King of *Spain*’s Reasons with
‘ one Word, *By bidding him recover, what*
‘ *he saith is his own, with the Sword*, as that
‘ Kingdom is defended by the King of *Por-*
‘ *tugal*; who gained it by the benefit of Re-
‘ stitution : For what if *Spain* should always
‘ oppose Inconveniencies to your granting of
‘ Bishops to *Portugal*, would your Holiness
‘ never allow her any ?

‘ You, who are constituted the chief Pontiff
‘ of the Church, by the Prince of Prelates, ex-
‘ ecute your Office, and grant Pastors to the
‘ Church of *Portugal*; that they who have stray-
‘ ed, may be brought back to the Fold, and be
‘ rescued out of the Jaws of the *Wolves*, who
‘ are roaring over them to tear them in Pieces.

‘ But that we may not be farther trouble-
‘ some to your Holiness, we remit the rest to
‘ the Bishop of *Beaujeu*, who will in our Name,
‘ treat about this Affair ; and who will, we
‘ do hope, obtain in your Holiness’s Presence,
‘ that Place which is due to the Episcopal
‘ Grandeur, and to the Authority of those
‘ by whom he is sent, and to that Respect
‘ which is born to them by the holy Apo-
‘ stolical See. In the mean time we wish
‘ your Holiness a long Life for the good and
‘ profit of the Church.

Paris, in the Year 1652.

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This Letter, as it is writ with much more Spirit and Freedom than that of the Church of *Portugal*, so I do not doubt, but that if the Assembly by which it was writ, had been left to themselves, and not been restrained by the *Portugueses*, from touching upon any of the Points which had been condemned by the Inquisition, but that they would have threatened the Pope with those, or some other such Methods, to very good Purpose; as they would certainly have done long before, if the Church of *Portugal* had been the Church of *France's* Case.

The Bishop of *Beaujeu*, before he left *Paris*, did write a long Letter to the King of *Portugal*, to assure him that he would do him all the Service that lay in his Power; and having expressed a wonderful Zeal in that Affair, he did seem to be pretty confident, that he should bring it to a good Issue, to the great Joy of that King.

But both the King and that Bishop found afterwards, that they had been too sanguine; for though that Prelate did as much at *Rome*, as a great Capacity, assisted with great Learning and Zeal, could perform, it did all signify nothing; for he could draw no other Answer from the Pope, but, *That he was ready to fill all the vacant Bishopricks in Portugal, and in its Conquests, Motu proprio; but that if they would not receive Bishops from him in*
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that manner, he could not help them to any. This was a Treatment, no Kingdom in the Roman Catholick World, besides *Portugal*, would, I believe, have endured so long; no, not *Spain* her self, as *Popish* as she pretends to be; and for *France*, she, I believe, would have eased the Pope of the trouble of denying her twice. But as a King of *Portugal*, as has been before noted, who was offered a high Religious Title by the Pope, would accept of none but of that, of *the Pope's most humble Servant*; so the *Portugueses* after that King's Example, may justly lay claim to that honourable Title, of *the Pope's most obedient Slaves*. And of this, *Ignatius Loyola* was sensible, who being told, that King *John* the Third of *Portugal*, was angry with the Pope for supporting the Cardinal *Michael de Silva* against him; did say, *That he knew the Kings of Portugal to be so Catholick, that if the Pope did trample upon their Beards, they would not resent it so as to disobey him in any thing.* And how was it possible for *France* to do a People any Service at *Rome*, who would not allow her to make use of the only Means which could have served them there?

And here, upon the great and constant Charge and Trouble which *France* was at for six and twenty Years, to separate *Portugal* from the *Spanish* Monarchy; and the much greater Charge the House of *Austria* was at, during

during all that time, to have kept them united: I cannot but take Notice of what has been the Success of all that Cost and Trouble on both Sides; which is, That the House of *Bourbon*, at this time is like to lose the Crown of *Spain* by that Separation; and the House of *Austria* is like to gain that Crown by it: A double clear Instance of the short-sightedness of all human Policy; and to these a third, and which is Modern too, may be added, which is, *Spain's* having had ten times more Assistance against the overgrown Power of *France*, by the *Dutch's* having thrown off her Yoke, than she could ever have had from them, if they had continued subject to her; and yet what an immense Treasure, and how much Blood did *Spain* spend to have hindered that Separation?

After this Denial in the Year 1652, I read of no Diligences used in *Rome* about the Affair of *Portugal*, during the Pontificate of *Innocent* the Tenth; to which an unwelcome Death did put an End in the Year 1655.

Innocent being dead, the *Barbarino's*, and the *French* strove hard and long in the Conclave, to have exalted the Cardinal *Sachetti*, who was an intimate Friend of *Mazarine's*, and had been long a *French* Pensioner, and from the beginning, had appeared zealous to have had the King of *Portugal* owned at *Rome*: But as the *Spaniards* were not ignorant of this,

so they did with their whole Strength oppose that Cardinal's Exaltation ; the Ambassador of *Spain* having on the first Day of the Conclave, declared his Master's Exclusion of that Cardinal : And as this Conclave did sit near three Months before they came to an Election, and had all the Tricks and Fourberies played over in it, which the Papacy and *Machiavel* have inspired *Italians* with ; so, having met with a short Account in *Spanish*, of the Proceedings in that Conclave, and which I believe came from a good Hand, I shall, for a little Variety, set it down here.

On the Eighteenth of *January*, in the Year 1655, the Mass of the Holy Ghost having been heard, according to Custom, in the Chapel of *St. Peter*, and where an Oration was made by the Abbot *Rospilliosi*, concerning the Election of a new Pope ; all the Cardinals, that were present, went to the Palace of the Vatican ; where the Conclave having been made ready, and divided into as many Cells as there are Cardinals, they did all enter into their several Apartments ; the Cells of the Cardinals *Sandoval*, *de la Curva*, and *Mazarine*, being all that were empty : In the Evening, the Cardinals were visited by the Ambassadors, the *Roman* Barons, and most of the Prelates in *Rome* ; and the Ambassador of *Spain*, when he was in Consultation with the Cardinals *Montalto* and *Lugo*, having,

ing, according to his Custom, been doubtful to say any thing concerning the Exclusion of *Sachetti*, the Promoters of that Cardinal's Exaltation, were so animated by it, that they hoped to have been able to have exalted him the next Morning; and having gone to work presently, they did something towards it that Night; but the rest of the *Spanish* Cardinals, and the *Medici's*, who are of the *Spanish* Faction, were outrageous against their Ambassador; and the Cardinal *John Carlos Medici* did let him understand, *That he would not fail to send an Account of his Conduct into Spain, and which he believed would give him Cause to repent of what he had done*: The Ambassador being much terrified with this Threat, desired the next Morning to be admitted into the Conclave; and which having been granted to him, he did there declare openly, before the Cardinals to whom he had spoke ambiguously about it before, that *he did in the Catholick King's Name, pronounce the Exclusion of the Cardinal Sachetti*; and as this Declaration very much startled the whole College, and did cool the Courage of *Sachetti's* Promoters, so the *Medici* were helped to time by it, for to strengthen their Party. The Conclave was not shut up before the Twentieth of *January*, for want of Officers; and on that Day there was a Scrutiny in the Morning, and another in the Afternoon; but those early Scrutinies

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are but little considered, Matters not being then fixed and settled by Negotiations; but after a few Days the Number of *Sachetti's* Votes was much increased, and that contrary to what had been agreed on among his Promoters; which was, that *Sachetti* should not be brought upon the Stage, until the Conclave was tired out with all the other Pretenders having tried what they were able to do; and which Agreement was of use to the *Spaniards*, and the *Medici's*, who got time thereby to establish his Exclusion.

The Conclave being thus divided, into the *Spanish* and *Barbarine* Parties; the *Barbarini's*, when they treated about the Exaltation of *Sachetti*, were joined by the Squadron *Volant*, which consisted of eleven Cardinals, and who were every one their own Head, and by the *French* likewise, who had five Cardinals, and who, above all others desired to have *Sachetti* exalted; not only for his having been excluded by *Spain*, but chiefly for his being an intimate Friend of *Mazarine's*.

The *Barbarini's*, the *French*, and the Squadron *Volant*, did vote obstinately for some time twice a Day, for *Sachetti*, and did once make up five and thirty Votes for him; however, they had but little Hopes of being able to exalt him, seeing the *Medici's*, who were of the *Spanish* Faction, had fortified themselves with seven and twenty Votes for his

L Exclusion;

Exclusion ; without reckoning in the old Cardinals of *Urban's* Creation, who did all understand very well, that the Exclusion of *Sachetti*, was a thing convenient for their Fortunes; in the mean time a Paper appeared, and as was supposed by *Barbarino's* Order, in which the Cardinal *Sachetti* was pronounced the fittest Person in the whole College to be exalted to the Papacy ; and which was done by him, on purpose to excuse his not putting any of his own Creatures into the Balance against him ; and so, tho' several of them were proposed, they did all meet with unconquerable Opposition and Contradiction ; and the Arts which were used in their Favour, being detected, did hinder rather than further, their Exaltation.

By these means the Conclave was continued to the great Dissatisfaction of the College ; those Delays being very ill taken by the Cardinals, as were also the Plots of the Cardinal *Barbarino*, who insisted on the Exaltation of *Sachetti*, not regarding the Incommodities the College laboured under, nor the Dangers their Lives were in : For so full was *Barbarino* of that Matter, that he was often over-heard , saying, O *Sachetti*, O *Cataleti* ! whereby he meant, O *Pope Sachetti*, O *the Coffins of the contrary Votes*.

But the humourfome Cardinal *John Carlos de Medici*, did now with singular Industry begin

gin to complain of the Catholick King's Exclusion of the Person of *Sachetti*, and did offer to undertake, if that Bar were removed, and Leave were granted to chuse any Cardinal, that one should be exalted that was in his Catholick Majesty's Interest; but these Plots vanished quickly, being perceived, by the Persons themselves that were nominated, to be only *Venues* against *Venues*, or Tricks played against Tricks; however, *Sachetti's* Hopes did sink so fast daily, that having given it over for a lost Game, he began to cast about, since he could not have the Papacy himself, by what Means he might exalt his great Friend and Confident the Cardinal *Gichi* to it; and knowing that Cardinal to be under the Exclusion of *France*, he writ to his Friend *Mazarine*, and did assure him, that if that Exclusion was taken off, *France* should receive all Satisfaction: And *Mazarine*, trusting to his Friend's Word, persuaded the King to write to Monsieur *Leon*, his Ambassador in *Rome*, to take off the Exclusion, and to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, that he might in Part owe his Election to him, and not wholly to the *Spaniards*.

Upon this the Cardinals *Lomelino*, *Barbarino*, *Sachetti*, and *Imperiale*, did all agree to exalt the Cardinal *Gichi*; but being sensible, that without the Concurrence of the *Medici's*, and of the *Spaniards*, they would not be able to

bring it about, they resolved to treat of it with the Cardinal *Lugo*, who they knew was afraid lest *St. Clement's* Practices, which were still boiling, might gather more Heat; and that he was also jealous, lest *Barbarino*, finding himself defeated of his Hopes, might, contrary to his Inclination, out of Necessity, or out of Fear of Danger, accept of something that was not convenient.

Lugo was glad to have an Occasion given him of bestowing his Vote on a Person of so great Merit as Cardinal *Gichi*, whose Exaltation was passionately desired by the *Jesuits*, of which order *Lugo* himself had been; but being doubtful of the *Medici's*, though he had no reason for it, he writ to the Ambassador of *Spain*, to acquaint him with all that had passed between the Cardinal *Barbarino* and him; and did tell him farther, that to secure the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, it was necessary, he should by a Letter signify to the *Medici's*, that by a Courier which passed lately through *Rome* to *Naples*, he had received fresh Orders from *Madrid*, commanding him to do all that he was able to promote the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*, and in case he were opposed in that, he was then commanded to go to the Conclave, and there immediately to withdraw the Catholic King's Exclusion of the Person of Cardinal *Sachetti*; and the Ambassador having, according

cording to Cardinal *Lugo's* Directions, writ to the *Medici's*, that he had received such an express Order from *Madrid*, though there was no such Thing, the *Medici's* did agree to it presently, and with a very good Will; but being still apprehensive, lest the old Cardinals, being dissatisfied with *Gichi* for his being young, might join themselves to some other Malecontents, to the ruin of the whole Business, the Cardinal *Bichi* was employed to negotiate for *Gichi*, and who being a prudent and crafty Man, and continually confined to his Apartment by the Gout, was visited daily by the greatest Part of the Cardinals: And accordingly on the third of *April*, *Bichi*, after Dinner, did begin a discourse about the Exaltation of the Cardinal *Gichi*; and the Cardinals *Medici*, *Barbarino*, *Este*, and *Antonio*, having been observed to go to his Cell, after that, oftener than they used to do before, a Rumour was presently spread, not only in the Conclave, but over the whole City, that the Cardinal *Gichi* would be chosen Pope, and who thereupon, on *Sunday* Morning, was, as it were, proclaimed Pope by the People.

The crafty *Bichi*, fearing least this unreasonable Rumour might have an ill Effect in the Conclave, he presently gave out, that *Barbarino* was resolved to make his last Effort for *Sachetti*; and that he had brought *Gichi*

upon the Stage, for no other end, but to gain the old Cardinals, who he knew would never give their Votes for one so young as *Gichi*; and this having been believed by the major Part of the Cardinals, *Bichi* pursued his Point so close all *Sunday* and *Monday*, that on *Tuesday* Morning he had fixed the Business with *Barbarino*, *Este*, and the Squadron *Volant*, and soon after with the *Medici's*; and in the Evening it was adjusted with *Lugo*, that the next Day, *Barbarino* and *Este* should go to *Antonio* the Dean of the College, and propose the Cardinal *Gichi* to him, as the Person that was desired by them all, having been induced to it by his great Capacity, Vertue, Modesty, and Affability; and that the Dean and *Barbarino*, and some other Cardinals should go to *Gichi's* Cell, to made him an Offer of the Pontificate: And accordingly, not only the Cardinals, who had been named, but all the rest having had a hint of it, went to wait on *Gichi* with that Offer; and having gone soon after to a Scrutiny, *Gichi* was chosen Pope with the unanimous Vote of the whole College; and being asked by the Dean, whether he did accept of the Pontificate, he returned no Answer, but went to God for Direction, in a Resolution of so great Moment; and being, after a short Ejaculation, inspir'd to accept of it, he took on him the Name of *Alexander* the Seventh: Obedience, as the Custom

Custom is, was then immediately paid to him in the Chapel of the sacred College; and which being over, he went to an Apartment where a Dinner was provided, and continued there till within two Hours of Night, and having then gone to the Chapel of *Sixtus*, Obedience was yielded to him by all the Cardinals a second time; and having descended from thence to *St. Peter's*, where he was seated on the Corner of the Altar of the Apostles, and not in the Middle of it, as other Popes used to be, Obedience was paid to him a third time by the whole College; with which Ceremony, this holy and glorious Action ended to the great Joy of all People; the Chair of *St. Peter* having been Vacant from the seventh of *January* of the Year 1655, until the seventh of *April* of the same Year.

I have enlarged on this Election, because I had a true Relation of its Proceedings, of which I took a Summary; but have here forbore to mention divers Artifices, which were made use of in that Conclave: God serving himself of human Stratagems, in the Election of his Vicar on Earth.

This Account was written by a bigotted *Spanish* Papist; and who, for that reason, did forbear, as he tells us, to publish many of the Tricks of that Conclave, which had come to his Knowledge: However, upon what he has

made publick, one may, I think, venture to say, that there are no Elections, less of the Spirit of God appears in, than in those of the Popes.

The Exclusion of *Sachetti*, and the exalting of *Gichi*, in which the *French* do seem to have been out-witted by the *Italians* and *Spaniards*; did cost the Crown of *Spain* so dear, that a certain Minister of that Nation did declare upon it, that if *Spain* would be advised by him, *She should never be at the Charge of making any more Popes; for he was sure she might buy them cheaper ready made to her Hand, yea, though they were of a French Manufacture.*

And now, considering by what Arts the Popes are, and have for a long time been chosen, can one that knows, that there is a Papal Constitution in force, which nulls and makes void all Elections to the Papacy, in which any Money, Office, or Benefice, has been given or promised to any of the Electors, either by the Person who is Elected, or by any of his Friends, though he be chosen by the unanimous Voice of the whole College; can any, I say, that know this, possibly think that there has been so much as one true Pope in the Chair of *Rome* since that Constitution was made; or, that ever there will be one, whilst it remains in Force, and the Papacy is so high a Dignity: And yet for all that,

that, I do not take that Constitution to be in much Danger of being repealed, for the Popes rather than undergo the Reflection which would be made upon its being revoked, though no doubt they do wish it had never been enacted, will endure to be told by their own Consciences, that, by Reason of that Constitution, they have no Right to the Chair they sit on, nor to any of its Profits or Privileges. And when to this is added the Uncertainty they are at of their Popes being Bishops, or in any Holy Order, which, according to the Doctrine of their Church, depends wholly on the Intentions of the Persons by whom they were ordained ; is it possible for a Man of Thought, not to stand amazed at the *Romish* Doctors dictating, as they do, that an infallible Certainty is absolutely necessary to a Belief of the Truths of Religion? Since, though they were certain to that Degree, of the Bishop of *Rome's* being Infallible, they cannot, upon their own Principles, be infallibly certain of any Man's being Bishop of *Rome* : So that unless they think they shall be able with Clamour, and pure Dint of Forehead, so to bear down People's Understandings, as implicitly to submit to all their Dictates ; I cannot see how they can hope to do Religion any Service, by thus slighting that Certainty, and the Evidence of it, which it has ; to set up an Idol of Certainty, of which,

which, upon their own Principles, they cannot possibly be infallibly certain : But this, and their comparing their Legendary Miracles, in Point of Certainty, with those which were wrought by Christ and his Apostles, are not the only Wounds, though they are deep ones, which *Popery*, to advance it self, and its own Credit in the World, has given to the Christian Religion. But to return to the new Pope, whose Case this was visibly, and to the King of *Portugal*.

That King, though he was extremely troubled at his great Friend *Sachetti's* having lost the Pontificate, and had but little reason to hope for more favour from the present Pope, who was a Creature of *Spain's*, than he had met with from his Predecessor : Yet there being several Instances of Popes, who had not been much devoted to the Princes at whose charge they had been exalted ; he did resolve forthwith to surprize the new Pope with an Embassy : And having no abler Minister any where, than Don *Francisco de Sousa a Coutinho*, his Ambassador in *France*, at that time ; and who had done him great Service in that Court ; he commanded him to repair immediately to *Rome*, and with as little Noise as was possible, with the Character of his Ambassador extraordinary, to congratulate the new Pope's Exaltation, and to yield Obedience to him in his Name : And which that Minister

Minister having done with all possible Secrecy and Expedition, he appeared in *Rome* with the State and Equipage of an Ambassador, and was there treated as such by the *French*, and by all their Creatures in that Court: But notwithstanding that able Minister did stay several Months in *Rome*, and did use all the Diligences that could be thought of, he was never able to procure an Audience of the Pope; neither did that Pope, to his dying Day, though he lived to the Year 1667, ever grant Bishops to the Church of *Portugal*; though she had only one Bishop, and who was very ancient, during the whole Time of his Pontificate.

What other Diligences were used in *Rome* by *Portugal*, or whether she used any after this there, I have not been able to learn; having seen no Memoirs by which that Affair is carried lower than the Death of King *John*, who died in the Year 1656, leaving his Subjects engaged in a War with *Spain*; and leaving an Heir behind him, who, beside that he was Young, did not appear well qualified to hold a Crown on his Head, which had been so lately taken by his Father from so powerful a Neighbour. But as *Donna Luisa*, the Queen-Mother, had done most of the Business in her Husband's Life-time; so by having doubled her Application and Diligence after her Husband's Death, she caused him

him to be but little missed ; and the War, both before and after *Spain* had a Peace with *France*, was carried on by her with that Steadiness and Dexterity, that the *Spaniards*, after the Battle of *Montes claros*, in which they were soundly beat by the Valour of the *English* Auxiliaries, were in the Year 1666, glad to conclude a Peace with *Portugal*, and to leave the Crown of that Kingdom to the House of *Braganza*, after a continued Struggle for twenty-six Years to have recovered it: And upon that Peace, of which the King of *England* was the Mediator, all things in *Portugal* having returned into their old Channel, Pope *Clement* the Ninth, though in his Affections he was more a *Spaniard* than either of the former, perceiving it was in vain to insist longer on his *Motu proprio* Provisions ; did confirm all the Prelates named by the Crown of *Portugal* to the vacant Bishopricks, in the usual Manner.

I shall here conclude this Tract, with observing how incommodious a thing it is, now that Christendom is divided into so many distinct and independent Civil Governments, and the Bishop of *Rome* himself is likewise become a great secular Prince, for any National Church to be subject to that Bishop: The true and greatest Interests of all the Churches, which are under that Bishop's Ecclesiastical, and not under his secular Dominion,

Behaviour towards Portugal. 173

nion, being constantly sacrificed to the secular Advantages, and ambitious Aims of the Papacy ; and to those of the Princes likewise, who either out of Fear or Love, are the most regarded by the Pope. So that to this Bondage, the Words of St. *Peter* may well be applied, by all the reformed Churches : *It is a Yoke neither our Fathers nor We are able to bear.* And may God in his great Mercy ease all Christian Churches of it, breaking all its politick Bonds asunder ; but above all, that of the merciless Inquisition, by which *Portugal* was, on this Occasion, diverted from those Primitive Ways, which would have led her into Freedom and sound Christian Doctrine, after the Example of the Church of *England*.

T H E

T H E

APPENDIX.

THE last Article in the Concordate betwixt King *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, and the three Estates of *Portugal*.

And in case it do so happen, that I, or any of my Successors, do not observe what is promised and sworn in the foregoing Articles; the three Estates of this Kingdom shall not be so bound, that they may not freely deny Subjection, Vassalage, and Obedience to me; without incurring, on that Account, the Crime of Treason, or any other ill Case.

This Article was left out by the *Spaniards* in all the printed Relations of that Concordate, notwithstanding it had been printed in it, and at *Madrid* too, in the *Lege Regia* of *Portugal*, and is in all the Manuscripts of it. And of this Article the *Portuguese* Writers made great use, to vindicate their having taken

ken the Crown from the *Spaniards*, by whom they said those Articles had been all violated; and bestowed it on the House of *Braganza*.

The *Portugueses*, and their Friends in *Rome*, having all still insisted on the Pope's being bound, after the Example of his Predecessors, to confirm the King's Nominations to the Bishopricks in *Portugal*, as he was the Possessor of that Kingdom, suppose he had no Right to it; did urge the Authority of the Council of *Trent* for the Observation of that wise and safe old Custom; the same Respect being paid by that Council, in the ninth Chapter of its twenty-fifth Session, to the Possessors of Kingdoms, as if they were their lawful Kings; where, in an Exception made in favour of Sovereign Princes, in the Matter of Patronages, it is said,

Exceptis Patronatibus, quæ ad Imperatorem, & Reges, seu Regna Possidentes, aliosque sublimes ac supremos Principes Jura Imperii in dominiis suis habentes, pertinent.

And that it has been the Pope's constant Custom to acknowledge the Prince *that is in Possession of the Kingdom* to be its King, however

however he got into the Possession of it ; is manifest from Pope Gregory the Tenth having for that, and for no other Reason, acknowledged *Rodolph* Emperor of Germany in Contradiction to *Alfonso* King of Castile ; and from *Pius* the Second having acknowledged *Matthias Corvinus* King of Hungary in Contradiction to *Frederick* ; *Ferdinand* King of Naples in Contradiction to *Reyne* ; and from *Boniface* the Ninth having acknowledged *Don John* the First of Portugal, King, in Contradiction to Spain ; and King *Henry* the First of Castile in Contradiction to *Donna Constance* Dutcheß of Lancaster, and Heireß to King *Peter* the Cruel, who was murdered by that *Don Henry* his Bastard Brother : And to which twenty Instances more might be added, to prove this to have been the constant Practice of the Roman Chair.

Having, in the fore-going History, often mentioned the Way by which the ancient Spanish Church was provided of Bishops, I shall here set that down which was in use in her at the end of the sixth Century ; as I find it enjoined in the three first Canons of the Collection made by *Martin* Archbishop of Braga, who flourished in Portugal at that Time.

First Canon. *De electione Episcopi.*

‘ Non liceat populo electionem facere,
‘ qui ad Sacerdotium provocantur, sed ju-
‘ dicialium sit Episcoporum; ut ipsi eum
‘ qui ordinandus est probent, si in ser-
‘ mone & fide, & in spirituali vita, edoc-
‘ tus est.

Second Canon. *De ordinando Episcopo.*

‘ Episcopum oportet maxime quidem ab
‘ omni Concilio constitui; sed si hoc aut
‘ pro necessitate, aut pro longinquitate iti-
‘ neris difficile fuerit; ex omnibus tres col-
‘ ligantur, & omnium præsentium vel ab-
‘ sentium subscriptiones teneantur; & sic
‘ postea ordinatio fiat: Hujus autem rei po-
‘ testas in omni provincia ad Metropolitanum
‘ pertineat Episcopum.

Third Canon. *De evacuanda ordinatione quæ
absente Metropolitano fuerit facta.*

‘ Non debet ordinari Episcopus absque
‘ consilio & præsentia Metropolitanæ Epif-
‘ copi: Adeste autem oportet omnes qui
‘ sunt in provincia Sacerdotes, quos per
‘ suam debet Epistolam convocare, & si
M ‘ quidem

‘ quidem omnes occurrerint, melius ; si au-
 ‘ tem hoc difficile fuerit, pluriore oportet
 ‘ occurrere : Qui autem non venerint, præ-
 ‘ sentiam sui per suas epistolas faciant ; &
 ‘ sic omnium facto consensu ordinationem
 ‘ Episcopi fieri oportet. Si autem aliter,
 ‘ præter quod a nobis terminatum est, fue-
 ‘ rit factum, talem ordinationem nihil præ-
 ‘ valere decernimus. • Si autem secundum
 ‘ Canones ordinatio Episcopi fuerit facta,
 ‘ & aliquis contra, sua malitia, in aliquo
 ‘ contradixerit, plurimorum consensus ob-
 ‘ tineat.

By this way, Bishops were, I believe,
 chosen in the *Spanish*, and in most other
 Churches, for some Ages after the Laity
 were excluded, for just and weighty Rea-
 sons, from their Election : And this way,
 I suppose, did continue until the Tempo-
 ralities of the Bishops were come to be ve-
 ry great ; when the Kings, for that rea-
 son, did take the Nomination of all the
 Bishops within their Dominions into their
 own Hands ; only for Form’s sake, they did
 send to the Chapters of the Cathedrals to
 chuse the Persons whom they had named ;
 and which being done, they who had been
 so named, and elected, were Consecrated by
 the Metropolitan, and were thereupon in the
 full Possession of the whole Episcopal Juris-
 diction.

But

But when the Papacy grew powerful, and had spread its Wings over all the West; the Chapters were encouraged by it, on some Pretence or other, many times to reject the Ecclesiasticks who had been named to them by the King, and to chuse others recommended to them by the Pope: And as this was always ill taken by the Kings, so upon those Elections such great Heats were frequently struck up betwixt them, and the Chapters, who had the Pope for the most part on their Side, that the Kings and the Popes at last judged it to be for both their Interest, to divide the Matter betwixt them: And so the Nomination of all the Bishops within their Dominions did remain lodged in the Kings; but they who were named by them, were not to be Consecrated, nor to exercise any Episcopal Jurisdiction, before they were approved of, and confirmed by the Pope. And as this late Composition, was the thing that first gave Occasion to the Papal Parasites, to maintain, that all Episcopal Jurisdiction was derived so from the Pope, that it is not lawful for any, though they be consecrated Bishops, to exercise the least Jurisdiction without the Pope's Leave; so the Fees at *Rome* for those Papal Confirmations, were set so high, that they became a considerable Branch of the Pontifical Revenue.

And is it not a Matter of Amazement, that the Church of *Portugal*, rather than return to a Path which was thus chalked out for her, in her purer Ages, and by her own Primate; should for six and twenty Years together, be at so much Charge and Trouble, and be for above fifteen Years reduced to one single old decrepid Bishop? It was certainly, the Vision of Things, thus unreasonable, and unaccountably absurd, that caused St. *John*, when he saw the Woman who had *Mystery*, &c. writ on her Forehead, *To wonder with great Admiration*. But the thing that makes the *Portugueses* suffering themselves to be reduced to so great Straits for want of Bishops, to be yet the more wonderful, is, That they wanted not, in their own Kingdom, abundance of Instances of Ecclesiasticks, who had been consecrated Bishops, and had upon that immediately exercised Episcopal Jurisdiction in their Diocesses, without waiting for any Approbation or Confirmation from *Rome*; witness, 1st, *Girald* in the time of their first Prince the Conde *Don Henrique*. 2^{dly}, *Godinho* in the Reign of King *Alfonso* the Third. 3^{dly}, *Peter* in the Reign of King *Sancho*. 4^{thly}, *Giraldes* in the Reign of King *Alfonso* the Second. 5^{thly}, *Miz* in the Reign of King *Dennis*. 6^{thly}, *Oliveira*; and 7^{thly}, *Pereira* in the
Reign

Reign of King *Alfonso* the Fourth. 8thly, *Vasco* in the Reign of King *Fernando*: And even since the *Cap: Avaritiæ*, by which the Pope's Consent came to be required to Bishops exercising of their Jurisdiction, *Portugal* had not thought her self so tied up by that Constitution, as not to act contrary to it, when there was Occasion: So, since that time, the Episcopal Jurisdiction had, without any Leave from the Pope, been exercised in the Bishoprick of *Braga*, of which Church all the fore-mentioned Prelates were Bishops. 1. By *Don Martin*. 2. By *Don Bernard* in the Reign of King *John* the First. 3. By *Don John* in the Reign of King *John* the Second. 4. By the Infante *Don Edward* in the Reign of his Father King *John* the Third. 5. By *Don Baltazar*; and, 6. By *Manuel* in the same Reign; and, 7. By *Don Antony* in the Year 1581, in the Reign of *Philip* the Second: And *Dr. Navar*, who at that time was a Professor in *Conimbra*, did stoutly maintain that all Bishops derived their Jurisdiction immediately from Christ, and not from the Pope.

The enacting Part of the Constitution of Pope Julius the Second, which makes void all Elections to the Papacy, procured by Promises, or by any other Bribes.

‘ Cum tam divino quam humano jure, in
 ‘ spiritualibus præcipue, detestabiliter sit Si-
 ‘ moniæ labes prohibita, & longe magis in
 ‘ electione Rom. Pontif. Vicarii Jesu Christi
 ‘ D. N. abominabilis sit, & universali Ec-
 ‘ clesiæ perniciosæ.

‘ Nos, qui regimini ejusdem universalis
 ‘ Ecclesiæ, meritis imparibus, annuente do-
 ‘ mino, præsidemus; cupientes quantum cum
 ‘ Deo possumus in præmissis, pro tantæ rei
 ‘ necessitate ac periculi magnitudine, ut
 ‘ tenemur in posterum salubriter providere;
 ‘ de fratrum nostrorum sanctæ Romanæ Ec-
 ‘ clesiæ Cardinalium consilio & unanimi con-
 ‘ sensu, hac nostra, *perpetuo valitura*, con-
 ‘ stitutione, Apostolica auctoritate, & de po-
 ‘ testatis nostræ plenitudine, statuimus, ordi-
 ‘ namus, decernimus & definimus, quod si,
 ‘ quod Deus pro sua clementia & ineffabili bo-
 ‘ nitate avertat, contigerit postquam nos vel
 ‘ successores nostros successive, ipse Deus ab
 ‘ hujusmodi universalis Ecclesiæ regimine ab-
 ‘ solverit, humani generis inimico procuran-
 ‘ te, & ambitione vel cupiditate ad hoc in-
 ‘ clinante

' clinante seu impellente, electionem Roma-
 ' ni Pontificis ab eo quem elegi contigerit,
 ' vel ab aliquo seu aliquibus de cœtu Cardi-
 ' naliū quomodo libet votum dantibus per
 ' simoniacam hæresim, in dando, promitten-
 ' do, vel recipiendo pecunias, bona cujusque
 ' generis, castra, officia, vel beneficia, seu
 ' promissiones & obligationes, commissam per
 ' se vel alium seu alios quomodocunque
 ' & qualitercunque etiam in duarum par-
 ' tium, vel omnium Cardinalium unanimi
 ' concordia, quomodolibet etiam per viam
 ' assumptionis unanimiter, nemine discre-
 ' pante, etiam sine scrutinio factæ celebrari
 ' vel fieri, non solum *hujusmodi electio, vel*
 ' *assumptio eo ipso nulla existat, nullam eidem sic*
 ' *electo vel assumpto administrandi in spiritua-*
 ' *libus & temporalibus facultatem tribuat,*
 ' sed etiam contradictum sic electum, vel
 ' assumptum de simoniaca labe a quocunque
 ' Cardinali qui eidem electioni interfuerit,
 ' opponi & excipi possit sicut de vera & in-
 ' dubitabili hære si, ita quod a nullo pro
 ' Romano Pontifice habeatur, quinimo ipse
 ' sic electus a priore suo Cardinalatus, &
 ' alio quocunque honore Ecclesiis Cathe-
 ' dralibus, etiam Metropolitanis & Patriar-
 ' chalibus, monasteriis, dignitatibus, & alijs
 ' quibuscunque beneficiis, & pensionibus quæ
 ' tunc obtinebat in titulum vel commendam
 ' aut alias quomodocunque, eo ipso, *absque alia*
 ' *declarat-*

‘ *declaratione*, privatus existat, & idem electus non Apostolicus, sed Apostaticus & tanquam simoniacus & hæresiarcha, & ad prædicta omnia & singula, perpetuo inhabilis habeatur, & sit.

‘ Nec hujusmodi simoniaca electio per subsequenter ipsius inthronizationem, seu temporis cursum, aut etiam omnium Cardinalium adorationem seu obedientiam, ullo unquam tempore convalescat, &c.

This perpetual Constitution was published in the Year 1505, and it was well for him that made it, that it was not in being when he was chosen Pope; for if it had, his Election would have been palpably nulled by it. *Promises of rich Benefices and Offices, and the Distribution of a vast Sum of Money among the Cardinals*, having been the Steps by which he had visibly ascended the Pontifical Chair; as we are told by *Guichardin*, and the Council of *Pisa*, which was assembled by the Emperor, and by the French King, to call *Julius* to an Account for his Perjury, and other great Misdemeanors: And to the driving of this great Bargain, *Julius* was encouraged, it is like, by his Predecessor *Alexander* the Sixth, having said among his familiar Friends; *That the Papacy was a Benefice which had always been bought and sold cheap*

cheap by unskilful Men, who understood not its true Value ; it being one of the Things in the World, that could not be purchased too dear. The thing therefore that moved *Julius* to shut the back Door of *Simony*, by which he himself had entered, against all that came after him ; was boldly to have born down the certain Notice, and the loud Clamour, which was every where at that time, of his having been *Simoniacally* chosen Pope. So Usurpers after that they are in the Throne, do take care to have the Steps removed by which they ascended, least others should make use of them to their Prejudice.

The Canon of the Council of Trent, which necessarily binders all Roman Catholicks from being infallibly Certain of the Pope's being a Bishop, or in any Holy Order.

‘ Si quis dixerit, in ministris dum sacramenta conficiunt & conferunt, non requiri intentionem, saltem faciendi quod facit Ecclesia ; Anathema sit.

Now if without a Revelation they cannot possibly be certain of the Intention of the Bishop by whom the Pope was ordained a Priest, or a Bishop : How can they be infallibly Certain of any of their Popes being in
Holy

Holy Orders, or indeed of any other Bishop or Priest being in them. So that the Pope is either Fallible in having made this Canon; or, according to it, none can be infallibly Certain of his being a Bishop, or so much as a Christian.

These and twenty Things more, do cause it to be no easy Matter, to find a Rock any where, for the *Roman* Infallibility to stand upon, (for on a Rock they will have it to stand,) unless it be in the Foreheads of its Champions.

A D I S-

A
DISCOVERY
OF SOME
Gross Mistakes
IN THE

Roman Martyrology

Reformed, Published and Au-
thorized by Pope Gregory
the 13th.

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T H E

P R E F A C E.

W*Ere the Bishops of Rome infallible in any Matters of Fact, there could not be any Mistakes in the Martyrologies which are published and authorized by them; there being no case, wherein Mistakes are of worse consequence to Religion: For as should the Popes, who do exhort their Sheep to pray to all the Saints which are named in their Martyrologies, be so mistaken as to name that for a Saint in them, which is nothing in the World, they would be Accessory to their Sheeps being guilty of Idolatry, in their own Notion of that Crime; so should they, in them, mistake Things for Persons, or Heathens for Christians, or Hereticks for Orthodox, they would be accessory to their praying to Things and Persons, to which Prayers ought not to be made, supposing it to be lawful to pray to Angels and Saints.*

And that there are several such Mistakes, in the present Reformed Roman Martyrology, is, I think, demonstrated in the following Treatise: Neither do I in the least doubt, but that if any, who have more Leisure, and more Martyrologies, and

and a greater Insight into Roman Antiquities, than I have, would diligently apply themselves to it, they would be able to discover an hundred more such Mistakes in that Book: And the Truth is, the Reason why I do offer this handful of them to the Publick, is, to encourage some who are possessed of those Advantages, to make use of them for that purpose; and which would be a great Service to the Church of England, and to her true Christian Worship of God only, in exposing the Dotages and Frauds which do still attend all sorts of Creature-worship, and in discrediting the Papal Authority, by which most of them are authorized, and the rest are tolerated and encouraged: So we see the Prophet Elijah judged no way to be so effectual to cure Mankind of their sensual Inclination to an idolatrous Worship, as the exposing of its Folly to Scorn; and especially when its Followers are become Argument-Proof; as the Roman Church is, by Experience, known to be: More than enough having been published by learned Protestants, to have convinced her of her being involved in that forbidden Way of Worship, if unanswerable Arguments could have done it.

A

DISCOVERY

Of some Gross Mistakes in the

Roman Martyrology, &c.

POPE *Gregory* the Thirteenth, having employed some learned Mathematicians to reform the *Kalendar*; after that was done, he employed some Antiquaries to reform the *Roman Martyrology*, which was in great Confusion at that Time; and which being finished, he commanded it to be published: Authorizing it with the following Bull, which is always printed in its Front.

Gregorius Papa XIII.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

EMendato jam Kalendario, curavimus
(quod antea quoque decreveramus)
Romanum Martyrologium nonnullis in locis
librariorum typographorumque negligentia
mendosum, per viros eruditos, ad fidem his-
torix,

' toriæ, quæ rerum gestarum, personarum, lo-
 ' corum, temporum veritate continetur, ad-
 ' hibitis etiam codicibus vetustioribus atq;
 ' emendatioribus, corrigi; correctumq; &
 ' multis in locis auctum, proposita etiam atq;
 ' explicata Epactarum, Lunæq; singulis die-
 ' bus numerandæ ratione, ediq; vetustissimo-
 ' que Ecclesiæ more in Choro legendum pro-
 ' poni; ad Dei gloriam, ad Sanctorum ip-
 ' sorum, quorum memoria celebratur, lau-
 ' dem; ad eorum qui legunt, quique audi-
 ' unt, fructum. Habet enim Sanctorum in-
 ' nocentiæ, charitatis, fortitudinis, cæterarum-
 ' que virtutum commemoratio, stimulos quos-
 ' dam acerrimos, quibus tum maxime incita-
 ' mur, cum illorum propositis exemplis, no-
 ' stram desidiam agnoscimus, quamq; procul
 ' ab illorum laude & perfectione absumus co-
 ' gitamus. Mandamus igitur omnibus Patri-
 ' archis, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Abbati-
 ' bus, cæterisq; Ecclesiis, Monasteriis, Con-
 ' ventibus, Ordinibus, sive secularibus sive
 ' regularibus, quibuscunque præfectis, ut in
 ' peragendo divino in Choro officio, omni alio
 ' Martyrologio amoto, hoc tantum nostro u-
 ' tantur, *nulla re addita, mutata, adempta*. Si
 ' quos alios habuerint Sanctos, in suis Eccle-
 ' siis aut locis celebrari solitos, eos in hunc
 ' librum ne inferant; sed sepeperatim descrip-
 ' tos habeant, eumque illis locum atq; ordi-
 ' nem tribuant, qui regulis hic descriptis tra-
 ' ditur.

Mistakes in the Roman Martyrology. 123

‘ ditur. Eadem etiam iis qui in Horis Ec-
‘ clesiasticis privatim Martyrologio uti volue-
‘ rint, (quod quidem magnopere cuperemus
‘ ut omnes facere vellent) mandamus : omni-
‘ busque aliorum Martyrologiorum omnium
‘ publice privatimque in Ecclesiasticis Horis
‘ usu interdicimus. Typographis etiam pro-
‘ hibemus, ne in posterum hoc nostrum *ulla*
‘ *in re minutum, auctum, mutatum, edere au-*
‘ *deant.* Siquis aliter quam *hoc nostro decreto*
‘ *comprehensum est, fecerit ; noverit se in Dei*
‘ *omnipotentis, beatorumq; Apostolorum Petri*
‘ *& Pauli Indignationem incursum.* Datum
‘ Romæ apud sanctum Petrum, sub annulo
‘ Piscatoris, die 14 Januarii, MDLXXXIV.
‘ Pontificatus nostri anno duodecimo.

Ant. Buccapadulus.

In this Bull, Pope Gregory commands his *Reformed Martyrology*, and no other, to be used in all Churches and Chapels ; and wishes that all would use it privately too in their *Ecclesiastical Hours* ; and having strictly forbid the adding of any thing to it, or the changing, or leaving any thing out of it ; he denounceth, all that shall presume to do so, *To have incurred the Indignation of Almighty God, and that of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul ;* which that Pope would not certainly have done, if he had not judged that *Martyrology*

N

to

to be free from all Errors, that might mislead his Sheep in their Worship.

And yet, notwithstanding this *Martyrology* being armed with so terrible a Thunderbolt, and its being so much against the Grain of the *Roman* Church to acknowledge her self, or her Popes, to have committed any Error, two who were then named in that *Martyrology* as Saints, have been since left out of it; and that many more ought to be, for having no better Title to Saintship than those two had, will, I believe, be manifest from the following Instances.

On the First of *January*, the first Saint in the *Roman Reformed Martyrology*, is St. *Almachius*, and who is said there to have suffered Martyrdom in *Rome*, at the Command of *Alipius*, Præfect of that City, having been killed by the *Gladiators*, for having said, *This Day is the Octaves of the Lord's Day; cease from the Superstition of Idols, and from polluted Sacrifices.*

Now as this *Almachius* is not named in the ancient *Corbey Martyrology*, nor in that of *Luca*, published by *Franciscus Maria Florentinus*; so in that of *Antwerp*, set forth by *Bollandus*, there is no mention of him; but in his Place there is one St. *Corona*, and who is next after him in the *Roman Martyrology*;
and

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and to that St. *Corona*, the fore-mentioned Speech, in the very same Words, is attributed; and he is also said to have suffered Martyrdom for it, in the same Place, and after the same Manner.

It is not easy to guess, how St. *Corona* came to be jostled out of his Post of Honour, and to be robbed of his Speech, by St. *Almachius*; unless it were by some ignorant Scribe's having taken the word *Almanack* before the *Kalendar* for the Name of a Man; and having put him in the first place in the Year because he found that Word there, the fore-mentioned Speech did fall to him of Course, as belonging to the first Saint of the Year, whoever he was: But whether that Speech was made by St. *Corona*, or by St. *Almachius*; or, whether he that made it, did suffer Martyrdom for it, under *Dioclesian*, or under *Honorius*; and whether St. *Corona* be a Person or not, in none of which the Learned are agreed; it will not be an easy Task to prove, that the first of *January* was called the *Octaves of the Lord's Day*, as it is in that Speech, so early as the latest of those two Dates. I shall here only mention, that *Macrobius* writes positively, *That among the Romans it was not lawful to put any to Death, or to punish any corporally, upon the Kalends, or the first Day, of any Month.*

But though an old *Almanack* is proverbially the most useless Thing that is known, yet

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it is not *nothing in the World*; as we shall see anon a great many are, who are recorded as Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*.

On the Second of *January*, in the Reformed *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *At Antioch, the Passion of St. Isidore Bishop*; and after, on the same Day, it is said, of *St. Siradon Bishop*.

Here we have two fantastical Saints, by a Blunder, created out of one true Saint; who was *Domnus Bishop of Antioch*: And the ancient *Martyrologies* do discover, both the true Reading, and the Origin of this Mistake; for in the *Corbey*, and in that of *Luca*, and in that of the Queen of *Sweden*, and in that of *Antwerp*, on this Day, it is said, *In Antioch, of Syridoni Bishop of that Place*.

That is in Antioch of Syria (to distinguish it from the *Antioch in Pisidia*), of *Domnus Bishop of that City*. Now it is certain, that there was a famous Bishop of *Antioch*, of the Name of *Domnus*, and who was exalted to that Chair in the place of *Paulus Samossëtanus*; whereas that City never had a Bishop of the Name of *Isidore*, or of that of *Siridon*.

On the Sixth of *January*, it is said, *At Geris in Egypt, of Saint Nilammonis, &c.*

As on this Day there is no such Saint as *Nilammon*, in the ancient *Luca Martyrology*,
nor

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nor in that of *Corbey*, nor in the Queen of *Sweden's*; so I find no such place as *Geris* in any of my Dictionaries, though *Baronius* says it stands near fifty Furlongs from *Pelusium*; and whether *Nile* and *Ammon*, two well-known Names in *Egypt*, having been some way or other blundered together, did not give both Being and a Name to this Saint *Nilammon*, I shall leave to the Enquiry of the Criticks.

On the Twenty-fourth of *January*, in the Reformed *Roman Martyrology*, authorized by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth, it was said, *In the same City*, (that is in *Antioch*) of St. *Zynorides*, a Martyr.

This Saint and Martyr had kept the Place which was given her by Pope *Gregory*, if it had not been for some spiteful *French* Criticks; who having started at her Name, when they met with it in the Reformed *Martyrology*, did write to *Rome* to know where that Saint had been met with; and having had word sent them of the Place, it did plainly appear, that *Zynorides* was not the Name of a Man, or of a Woman, but did only signify a *Pair*, or a *Couple*; and this Blunder was so palpable, that poor *Zynorides*, was not, with the Shield Pope *Gregory* had given her, able to maintain her ground long; having been left out in all the following Editions of that *Martyrology* in *La-*

tin: And so in that which I have by me, printed at *Antwerp*, with *Baronius's* Notes upon it, in the Year 1589, *Zynorides* is not named; only in the Index she holds her ground, that having been made to the first Impression of that *Martyrology* under *Gregory*.

But in the Reformed *Roman Martyrology* translated into *Portuguese*, and printed in *Conimbra*, in the Year 1592; though that was three Years after her Annihilation at *Rome*; *Zynorides* keeps her place: The *Portugueses* and *Spaniards* being so much truer *Papists* than those at *Rome*, that rather than acknowledge a Pope to have committed so gross an Error, in a Matter of so great Importance to Religion, they will, with wrangling Reasons, and false History, maintain it till Doom's-Day: So that, though at *Rome*, St. *Zynorides*, or St. *Couple*, is *nothing in the World*, she will, in all Likelihood, be prayed to by the *Portugueses* and *Spaniards*, as long as they pray to any Saint.

On the 29th of *January*, in the Reformed *Roman Martyrology*, it was said, *At Bruggis*, of St. *Sulpitius Severus Bishop*, the *Disciple of St. Martin*, conspicuous for *Virtue and Learning*.

This virtuous and learned Saint, though he maintained the Post he was put into by
Pope

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Pope Gregory, near threescore Years; was at last dislodged by Pope Urban the Eighth, who, not having the Fear of Pope Gregory's Thunderbolt before his Eyes, commanded this Saint to be expunged out of the *Roman Martyrology*.

But, as St. Severus, and Zynorides, are both still in the *Martyrology* in *Portuguese*; so the Popes will, rather than by a publick Act prohibit the praying to them, to the discredit of the Papal Authority, wink at their Sheeps praying to that which they have silently owned to be *nothing in the World*; and to one, whom they have expunged out of their *Martyrology* for having been an Heretick.

On the 16th of February, in the *Reformed Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *In Egypt, of St. Julianus the Martyr, with other five Thousand.*

Now, if this is the Julianus who was Pamphilus's Companion, as it is undoubtedly, Pope Gregory has mightily encreased his Company; they that suffered in *Egypt* with him having been but five in Number; and who having been Soldiers, the contracted Word *Mil*: for *Milites*, was taken for *Mille*, or a thousand. So that unless the Creatures of a Blunder are something, here are four thousand nine hundred and ninety-five, prayed to as Saints in the *Roman Martyrology*, who are *nothing in the World*.

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And ought not a Pope's having authorized such gross Errors, and declared those to have incurred the Indignation of Almighty God that shall correct them ; to teach all his Successors, not to be (after *Gregory's Example*) so hastily in thundering out of Curfes, until they are more certain of their Chair's being Infallible.

On the 4th of *March*, it is said, *At Rome, in the Appian Way, Of nine hundred Martyrs.*

This Number is much lessened in the ancient *Antwerp Martyrology*, in which it is said, *At Rome, Of ten Martyrs.*

On the 14th of *March*, it is said, *At Rome, the Birth-day of forty-seven holy Martyrs, who were Baptized by the blessed Apostle St. Peter in the Mamertine Prison.*

I shall leave it to those who have Skill in Architecture, to judge whether that Edifice could be built for a Prison ; and shall be glad to know of those who are well read in the *Greek and Latin Descriptions* of the City of *Rome*, whether they have ever met with a Prison, or any other Place in that City, which was called the *Mamertine* ; or, before the dark Ages of Legends, did read of any Prisons being in that part of that City.

On

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On the 15th of *March*, it is said, *At Cæsarea in Cappadocia, the Passion of Longinus, who pierced our Lord's Side with a Spear.*

The Greek word λόγχη, or *Spear*, having been taken by some ignorant *Latin*, for the Soldier's Name who pierced our blessed Lord's Side with a *Spear*, did, I conceive, give Personality and Saintship with the Name of *Longinus* to this Saint.

On the 23d of *April*, it is said, *The Birth-Day of St. George the Martyr, whose illustrious Martyrdom the Church of God venerates among the Crowns of the Martyrs.*

The Acts of *St. George* were condemned as Fictions above twelve hundred Years ago; and whether the Acts of that Saint, which are now extant, be the same or not, it will not be easy for any that reads them, to doubt of *St. George's* having been, from a Symbol of Christian Valour, metamorphosed by Ignorance into a Man, and a Christian Champion. The same may, I believe, be said of *St. Christopher*, and *St. Katherine*, who are both in the *Roman Martyrology*, and do make a great Figure in the *Roman Churches*.

On the 29th of *May*, it is said, *In Umbria, the Passion of one thousand five hundred and twenty-five Holy Martyrs.*

This great Battalion is not mentioned in the *Luca* nor *Corbey*, nor any other ancient *Martyrology*;

tyrology; nor no where else, but in the Acts of the Martyrdom of St. *Venantius*: Which Acts *Baronius* himself, on another Occasion, acknowledges to be so full of *Blunders*, as to want a *Censure*, and not a small *Correction*.

And if such a Legend as this, can by its single Authority advance one thousand five hundred and twenty-five to the Titles of Saints and Martyrs in the *Roman Martyrology*; that Book had need be armed by the Popes with Thunderbolts, to help its own Authority to any Reverence.

On the 31st of May, it is said, Of St. *Petronilla*, a Virgin, the Daughter of St. Peter the Apostle, who having slighted the Marriage of *Flaccus* a Nobleman, did obtain three Days to consider of it; and who having during that Time given herself up wholly to Fasting and Prayer, on the third Day, as soon as she had received Christ's Sacrament, she yielded up the Ghost.

Now this St. *Petronilla*, which by the way does not sound much like a Jewish Name, must either have been born a Year after St. Peter was an Apostle; or she must have been forty Years old when the noble *Flaccus* was so charmed with her Beauty, that he was
wild

wild to have had her for his Wife : But the *Roman* Catholicks, as much as they venerate *St. Petronilla*, will not, to help to make out her Story, allow *St. Peter*, after he was called to be an Apostle, to have cohabited with her Mother : Nor indeed ought this Saint to be made use of as an Argument to prove that Cohabitation, since whoever reads her Story, may by divers Marks plainly discover her to have had no other Parent but an ignorant and superstitious Invention, the fruitful Mother of many strange Births.

On the 22d of *June*, it is said, *On the Mountain of Ararath, the Passion of ten thousand Holy Martyrs, who were Crucified.*

This Army is not mentioned in the *Luca*, nor in the *Corbey*, nor in any other ancient *Martyrology*, if we may believe *Radulph* Bishop of *Tongres* ; and who, for that Reason, declared honestly, that *until he saw better Evidence for them, he should look on them as a fabulous Invention.* And so skilful a Geographer was the Deviser of this Legend, that the Mountains of *Ararath* are planted by him in the Neighbourhood of *Alexandria* ; which Blunder, *Baronius* thinks he has covered sufficiently, by telling us out of *Pliny*, that there was a place called *Alexandria* near the River *Tigris* : It is very true there was, but as that
Alexandria

Alexandria was but little, if it was at all, known in the West, in the Legendary Ages; so *Tigris* is not so short a River, that if a Mountain and a City stand upon it, they must needs be near to one another; as in Truth that Mountain and City were not, but at a great Distance from each other. This shift of *Baronius's*, may very well serve for a Sample, of the wrigling Ways that are taken by the *Popish* Champions, to palliate the grossest Blunders in Geography, History, and Chronology; when they cannot be owned without doing some Prejudice to their Cause.

On the same Day, it is said, *At Samaria*, Of one thousand four hundred and eighty holy Martyrs, under *Coshroe King* of the Persians.

These Martyrs are not mentioned in the *Luca*, nor in any other ancient *Martyrology* that I have seen: And upon a strict Enquiry, I do very much suspect, that in *Coshroe's* time the People of *Samaria* will be found to have been *Jews*, for the most part; and that it may be found, that *Coshroe* never had any Power in that City, to put either *Christians* or *Jews* to Death in it.

On

On the Ninth of July, it is said, *At Rome, At the Drop that is still Dropping, the Birth-day of the Holy Martyr Zeno, and of ten thousand two hundred and three more.*

Now in the ancient *Luca* and *Corbey Martyrologies*, it is said, *At Tomis, of St. Zenonis*; and who is said to have had but five Companions: And in a very ancient Manuscript, he is said to have had but one, whose Name was *Mimia*; and who, in the *Martyrologies* where *Zenonis* is said to have five Companions, is still the next after him.

And now that the two last Letters in *Zenonis*, and the *M* and other Letters in *Mimia*, having been taken for *Numerals*, did make up this Army of ten thousand two hundred and three Martyrs, none can doubt, that knows how common such Mistakes have been in *Martyrologies*. And as we have had one Instance of it already, so we shall have another and greater Instance of it anon, and which is acknowledged both by the *Roman Martyrology*, and by *Baronius* himself; though I do not doubt, but that Number's having referred to a *Greek*, and not to a *Roman Army*, caused him to be more impartial in his Judgment of it than he would have been otherwise.

On

On the 24th of *July*, it is said, *At Amiternum in Vestinis, the Martyrdom of fourscore and three Soldiers.*

Now from the ancient *Martyrologies*, it is manifest, that the having here mistaken the Contraction of *Milliaria Miles*; for *Milites Soldiers*, did raise this good Company; and which having been thus raised, *Florentinus* and *Felix*, were, for being two lucky Names, preferred to be their Commanders. For in the *Luca Martyrology* on this Day, it is said, *In the City of Amiternum, fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, in the salutary Way, Of St. Victorinus*: And in the *Queen of Sweden's Martyrology* on this Day, it is said, *In the City of Amiternum, fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, Of St. Victorinus*: And in the *Corbey Martyrology*, it is said, *In the City of Amiternum, fourscore and three Miles from the City of Rome, in the salutary Way, The Birth-day of St. Victorinus the Martyr.*

Now here, as I observed in another Place, we have *fourscore and three Italian Miles* canonized, and made *fourscore and three Soldiers, Saints and Martyrs*; and having likewise their Captain and Lieutenant's Names given us by *Baronius*.

On

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On the 27th of *July*, it is said, *At Ephesus, the Birth-day of the seven Sleepers.*

These seven Saints having hid themselves in a Cave, in the heat of the *Decian* Persecution, and fallen asleep in it, did not wake again until the latter End of the Empire of *Theodosius* Junior; when they had slept about two hundred Years.

Now they that can believe a Man may take so long a Nap as this, in a Cave, may believe, if they please, that there were seven such Sleepers; and if they will, they may pray to them too, as Saints, for having slept so long; for that is the best Thing I have seen said of them.

On the 1st of *August*, it is said, *At Rome, The Passion of the holy Virgins, Faith, Hope, and Charity, who acquired the Crown of Martyrdom under Adrian the Emperor.*

Now considering that these three Christian Virtues, were never any where very common proper Names; it is not strange that three Virgins, who bore those three Names, should be Martyred in the same Place, and on the same Day? But the Heathen *Roman Kalendar* does, I think, help us to some Light as to this

this Matter, by telling us, that the first of *August* was the Festivity of *Hope* among the *Romans*: Now, if it was so, might not Christian Superstition, finding *Hope* in Possession of that Day, join *Faith* and *Charity* with her; and which coming afterwards to be mistaken for the Names of three Persons, the making them to have been three Virgins and Martyrs was very easy. And in Truth, if those three Virtues are considered, not as Persons, but as Christian Graces, they may be truly said to have suffered, and still to suffer Martyrdom in *Rome*.

On the 5th of *August*, it is said, *Augustæ Vindellicorum, The Birth-day of St. Afra, who when she was a Pagan, was converted to Christ by the Holy Narcissus, a Bishop; and was Baptized with all her House, and for the Confession of Christ was committed to the Fire.*

We have already had Saints made out of *Nothing*, and out of *Miles*, and out of *Emblems*; we are now come to a *Female Saint* made out of a *Male*. For, on this Day, in the *Luca*, and in the Queen of *Sweden's Martyrologies*, it is said, *In Civitate Augusta Passio Sancti Afri*. And in *Notokerus's Martyrology*, *In Augusta Euphratensi, Nativitas Sancti Afri*. In all which, *Afer* is said to have been a Man, and in the last he is said to have suffered

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ferred Martyrdom at *Augusta Euphratenfis* in Syria, and not at *Augusta Vindelicorum*, or *Ausburg* in Germany : And so *Augusta* in Syria, having been taken for *Augusta* in Germany, St. *Afer* was translated to *Ausburg*, and was there turned into a Woman ; and notwithstanding that City's great Distance from *Jerusalem*, was still said to have been converted to the Faith, by *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* ; as St. *Afer* of Syria was : Such Blunders as these, were too common in those unlearned and fraudulent Ages, for to be wondered at ; the superstitious Credulity of the People, having made the *Monks* not to be at any Pains to make their Lies look probable, or to avoid the committing of the grossest Blunders : And so after having turned St. *Afer*, a Man of Syria, into a German Woman, they quickly found a Mother for her that kept three waiting Maids.

For, on the Twelfth of *August*, in the *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *At Ausburg, of St. Hillaria, the Mother of the Blessed Martyr Afra ; who together with her three Maids Digna, Euprepia and Eunomia, was committed to the Fire by the Persecutors, for the Faith of Christ ; as she was lying at her Daughter's Tomb.*

But now, though both in the *Luca* and in the *Corbey Martyrologies*, St. *Hillaria* is mentioned

O

oned on this Day ; it does not appear that she was any thing a-kin to St. *Afra* : And though her Legend agrees with that other's so far, that it is plain they do both speak of the same Person, yet it gives a very different Account of her : For this St. *Hillaria*, had her Husband *Claudius*, a Tribune, thrown into a River with a Stone about his Neck, and had her two Sons, *Jason* and *Maurus*, with seventy Soldiers, put to Death in Rome, by the Emperor *Numerianus* ; and having buried her two Sons in a Farm of her own, she gave up the Ghost at their Tomb, and was buried there by her waiting Maids. Neither does the *Roman Martyrology's* giving this St. *Hillaria* another Day, mend the Matter at all, as to St. *Afra*, and her Mother and Maids. And thus both Rome and Syria were robbed by *Ausburg*, to make her St. *Afra*, and to trim up a Legend for her ; and which Legend is very much improved by the *Germans*, who have not only given her Mother's Maids three fine Names, but have made both her and them Martyrs.

On the 13th of *August*, in the Reformed *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, Of blessed *Hippolitus the Martyr*, who for the Glory of a Confession under *Valerian the Emperor*, after other Torments, had his Feet tied to the Necks of wild Horses, and be-
ing

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ing cruelly dragged through Thorns and Briars, did with a Body, torn all to Pieces, yield up the Ghost.

And on the same Day, it is immediately after said, *Blessed Concordia his Nurse, did also suffer Martyrdom.*

Now let any one compare the Story of *Hippolitus*, the Son of *Theseus*, and the Manner of his Death, with what has been here said of *St. Hippolitus*; and also know, that on this very Day, that *Hippolitus's* Memory was celebrated in *Rome* by the *Pagans*; and how great a Part a Nurse bears in the Tragedy of that *Hippolitus*, and which on this Day might probably be acted among the *Heathens*; and after that, if he can, let him not suspect, the *Hippolitus* and the Nurse, which are here recorded as Saints, to be *Hippolitus*, the Son of *Theseus*, and the Nurse which bears a great Part in his Tragedy: And the Truth is, this *St. Hippolitus*, and *St. Spes* or *Hope*, being in the *Roman Martyrology*, on the same Day on which the *Roman Pagans* celebrated their Festivities; inclines me to think, that if we had but a full *Heathen Roman Calendar*, to collate with the present *Roman Martyrology*, a great many, besides these two, would be found in them both, on the same Days of the Month; and who, in all Likelihood, were at first brought into that *Martyrology*,

O 2

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rology, by the same Conduct, which the *Je-
suits* are said to make use of in *China* at this
time, to facilitate the making of Profelytes :
And I shall leave it to the Enquiry of the
Criticks in *Roman Antiquities*, whether *Pæ-
tus* and *Soranus*, two noble *Romans*, of so
eminent a Probity, *That Virtue it self was said
to be cut off with them*, having been put to
Death in *Rome* by *Nero*, in his twelfth Year;
might not give Occasion to the Story of *St.
Peter* and *St. Paul's* having been put to Death
in *Rome* by *Nero* in that Year ; as the follow-
ing Inscription, upon a Stone in *Rome*, found
there not many Years ago, and in the very
Place where a Monument of *Simon Magus* be-
ing worshipped there, was said to stand,

Semoni Sango Deo Fidio Sacrum,

does seem to have given Occasion, to the
Story of *Simon Magus* being worshipped in
Rome, and of all that is said concerning that
Magician in that Place, and of his contending
there with *St. Peter*.

On the 11th of *September*, it is said, In
Egypt, Of *Paphnutius*, a *Bishop*, &c.

I shall leave it to those that have Leisure
and Conveniencies, to enquire, whether this
Paphnutius, was not a *Miletian Heretick* ;
and

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and whether *Theodotus*, Bishop of *Laodicea*, on the second of *November*, was not an *Arian*; and whether Pope *Felix*, on the twenty-ninth of *July*, was not a Schismatick; and whether *Cletus*, on the twenty-sixth of *April*, and *Anacletus* on the thirteenth of *July*, be not one and the same Man; and whether there was ever any such a Person as King *Lucius*, who is on the third of *December*; and whether the Martyrs *Quartus* and *Quintus*, on the tenth of *May*, might not spring from *Quinquatrus*, a famous Heathen Roman Festival.

On the 1st of *October*, it is said, At *Cologne*,
Of *St. Ursula*, and her Companions, &c.

Though the Number of *St. Ursula's* Companions is not set down here, they are nevertheless known by every Body to be eleven Thousand, taking in their Captain, in all the *Roman Legends*.

In most of the ancient *Latin Martyrologies* on this Day, it is said, In *Nicomedia*, The Birth-day of *Dafus*, *Zotticus*, and *Gagus*, with twelve Thousand more.

Now these two great Armies of Martyrs being both commemorated on the same Day; and that of *Nicomedia* being mentioned alone in most of the ancient *Latin Martyrologies*; and, in the *Latin Martyrologies*, in which they are both mentioned, that of *Nicodemia* be-

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ing reduced to a very small Number; inclines me to think, that the *Cologn* Army was by a Western Emulation, set up against the *Nicomedian*; and that the *Latins*, though they did keep to the same Day, did, to disguise the Matter, not take just the same Number, nor did make their Army of the same Sex. And if this be the true Case of the eleven thousand Virgins, as I am very apt to think it is, St. *Ursula* does now very far exceed the *Nicomedian* Army in Number; that Army being justly reduced by *Ado*, *Ursardus*, *Mauraltius*, *Petrus Natalis*, and also by the *Roman Martyrology*, and by *Baronius* himself, from twelve thousand, to the low Number of twelve Soldiers; and whose contracted Word *Mil* for *Milites*, or *Soldiers*, having been taken for *Mille* or *Thousands*, did they own, give Occasion to this great false Muster, as we have seen the same Mistake has done before.

But whether the mistaking the Number of that *Nicomedian* Army, did give rise to St. *Ursula's*, or not; it is now known certainly, that the two strong old Evidences of the Legend of the eleven thousand Virgins, are all altogether groundless; which Evidences were, the vast Multitude of *Women's Bones* which were found in the Burying-place, near to the City of *Cologn*; and the Earth of that Burying-place still throwing out the Bodies of Children, that were buried in it, though they were

laid

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laid never so deep, as Bodies, which, if they remained, would reflect on the Virginity of those Martyrs: For *Mazerey*, a Roman Catholick, tells us, *That in the Tombs said to belong to those Martyrs, were found the Bones both of Men and Children.* For ever since the first Dawnings of Idolatry in the *Roman Church*, when any great Number of Bones happened to be found together any where, out of Churches and Church-Yards, a Legend was presently writ upon them; and which having made them all to be the Bones of Martyrs, and reported some Miracles they were invented to have wrought, they were forthwith sacredly laid up in Shrines, and venerated as Relicks; and as such Burying-places have been the Mines, out of which that immense Treasure of Bone-Relicks in the *Roman Church* has been chiefly dugg; so it is more than probable, those rich Mines, were the Burying-places of Heathens, and of the worst and basest sort of People among them.

To conclude, That Creature-Worship, in all its Branches, should be still oppressed with a Multitude of such gross Blunders, is not at all to be wondered at; for besides that judicial Blindness, which is inflicted on that great human Presumption as a most just Punishment; Superstition, the darkest of all human Weaknesses, being the Mother and Guide of Creature-Worship; how can it be otherwise than

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involved in numberless Dotages? And until some abler Hand shall gratify the World with a full Entertainment of them; I shall to whet their Appetites, give a Taste of them in the following Tract; in which, a Tale is truly told, that really tempts one almost to think, that it was studiously framed unlikely, on purpose to afford a Triumph to the Authority of its Devisers over the Minds of all that should believe it; and which *Spain* did greedily, and does to this Day with great Devotion.

T H E

THE
LEGEND
OF

Saint *JAMES*,

THE
Patron of *SPAIN*.

WITH SOME
Animadversions upon it.

THE RECORD

OF THE

SALES OF LAND

IN THE

STATE OF NEW YORK

T H E

P R E F A C E.

HAVING, as often as they came in my way, still slighted all the Popish Legends, as so many monstrously false, and ill-told Tales; to justify my having treated Writings in that manner, which are highly revered by whole Nations, I thought it was convenient, once for all, to present the Lovers of Truth with one of those Histories; and, having made a few Animadversions upon it, to leave it to them, to judge, whether he that pays no regard to such Writings, is at all in the wrong.

And that I may not be taxed, with having pitched on an old blind Legend; which at present is little known, and less believed by the Papists themselves; I have instanced in one of the most publick of the whole Set; and which, if we may judge of the Reality and Power of a Cause, by the Greatness of its Effects, is most firmly believed: One of the richest and magnificent Churches, and one of the most numerous and wealthiest Military Orders in the whole World, having been founded on nothing else, but the Belief of that Legend; and are still maintained

tained by it : And which besides an immense Treasure, has cost Millions of Christians, many a weary step, over Rocks and Mountains ; who otherwise would have stayed at Home, and performed their Devotions ; and not have, by long sauntering Pilgrimages, reduced themselves and their Families to Beggary : Having nothing, by that means, left them, but a few Scollop-Shells upon a Thread-bear Weed, and a Feather or two of the Cast of the Cock which crowed when St. Peter denied his Lord. Neither shall I insert any thing here, that is not solemnly still related in this Legend by the gravest Spanish Writers. I have two Things to desire here of the Protestant Reader ; the one is, to thank God for not having his Mind under so heavy a Bondage, or rather a Judgment, as to believe Legends ; and the other is, his Pardon, for having troubled him with Proofs of a Tale's being false, which in it self, must to him, appear to be too incredible to deserve any Confutation.

THE

T H E
L E G E N G

O F

Saint *JAMES*,

T H E

Patron of *SPAIN*.

S AINT *James*, the Son of *Zebedee*, having, presently after *St. Stephen* was martyred, been commanded by Christ to go and preach his Gospel in *Spain*; he would not begin that long Voyage before he had the Blessed Virgin's Blessing, and License : Which having been begged by him with many pious Tears, she said to him, *Go Son, and obey thy Master's Commands, and in that City of Spain in which thou shalt make the most Christians, be sure to build a Church to my Honour, and I will direct thee how it is to be built.*

Having thus received his last Dispatches, *St. James*, according to the Custom of the Apostles, took to himself twelve Disciples,
who

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who were to attend him into *Spain*; and having with them landed in *Galicia*, though he might have landed in *Spain* some hundreds of Leagues short of it, he wrought many stupendous Miracles; and among others, he raised an *old Prophet* to Life, who had been dead and buried near six hundred Years; and having Baptized that ancient *Spanish* Prophet, and given him the Name of *Peter*, he consecrated him *Archbishop* of *Braga*.

From *Braga*, *St. James* went to *Cæsarea Augusta*, now *Saragoza*, where, as he was at Prayers one Night, he heard an innumerable Company in the Air singing the *Ave-Marys*; and having looked up to Heaven, he beheld the blessed Virgin coming down, sitting on a *Pillar of Jasper*, betwixt two Quires of Thousands of Angels; and she having called him to her, said to him, *Son James, this is the Place which is dedicated to my Honour; and the Pillar I sit upon, is sent down to you from Heaven, by your Master; and about it you are to build a Church, and an Altar, before which many Miracles shall be wrought; and this Pillar is to remain here until the End of the World, neither shall this Place ever be without Christians in it.*

St. James went presently about Building a Church, and having finished and consecrated it, he dedicated it to the Blessed Virgin; and this was the first *Lady Church* that

was

was in the World. But St. *James*, after he had built that Church, being much grieved, that in the fifth Year which he had been in *Spain*, he had made but seven Profelytes, besides the old Heathen Prophet he had raised from the Dead ; he returned to *Jerusalem*, with his twelve Disciples, taking *France* and the Isle of *Britain* in his Way ; and having been soon after Beheaded there, his twelve Disciples took his Body, and carried it to *Joppa* ; and at that Port, having either met with a Ship ready made to their Hands of *Marble Stone*, or built such a Ship there themselves, in that slow Sailor they passed all the long Southern and Western Coast of *Spain*, without touching any where, before they came to the City of *Flavia*, near the Cape of the *End of the Earth*, in *Galicia* : Neither had they put in at the first Port of *Spain*, which was in their way, could they have been more inhospitably entertained ; the King of that Country, when they came ashore in their Marble Vessel, having, notwithstanding the Rarity of it, persecuted them most furiously ; and Queen *Lupa*, who well deserved that Name, was yet more savage than her Husband : But in the End, the Disciples having by Miracles vanquished the Rage of those two Princes, they carried their Master's Body to the Place where *Compostella* now stands ; but which was then a thick Wood, and having

ving dug a Vault, they laid his Body in it, in a Marble Coffin.

But though the Memory of St. *James's* Body having been Interred in that Place, did last near three hundred Years; yet during the whole time of the five hundred Years following, the Memory of it was quite extinguished in *Spain*, until it was restored again about the Year eight hundred and thirty, by some miraculous Lights that appeared over the Place where it lay; and which having been seen for several Nights by the Country People, they went and acquainted *Don Theodemire*, the Bishop of *Iria*, with it; who went presently to the Wood, and having seen the same Lights, he set all Hands to work to dig for the Treasure he concluded was hid there; and they had not dug long before they came at a Cave made with Hands, in which they found a Marble Coffin, and in it St. *James's* Body: For which Invention, the Bishop having returned solemn Thanks to Heaven, he waited on the King, and acquainted him with the unexpected Treasure he had met with: The King being overjoyed at the News, went presently to visit the Place; and having paid his Devotion to St. *James's* Body, he built a Church over it, and endowed it with great Lands and Privileges.

It was not long before the *Spaniards* were abundantly rewarded for the Honour they had done to it ; for after that, St. *James* appeared armed Cap-a-pie, mounted on a state-ly prancing white Horse, in most of the Battles which they had with the *Moors* ; mowing down those Infidels, before the *Spaniards*, by whole Squadrons ; but most signally in that Battle which *Don Ramiro* had with the whole Power of the *Moors*, upon his having denied to pay them the customary yearly *Tribute of an hundred Christian Virgins* ; neither was that *Tribute*, after St. *James* had once entered the Lists, as the Champion of so many distressed Damsels, ever demanded any more by the *Moors* ; whose Posterity will, to this Day, tremble, if St. *James* and his white Horse be but named to them.

And as this Chivalry of St. *James's*, gave Birth to the rich and numerous military Order, which is called by his Name, and to his being made Patron of *Spain* ; so it gave Rise likewise to all that Knight-errantry which afterwards over-ran that Kingdom, so that *Don Quixot* has not been able to cure the *Spaniards* wholly of it.

The first Church which was built at *Compostella* by King *Alonso Casto*, being but a mean Edifice, it was taken down in the Year 900, and a more sumptuous Church was built in the Place of it by *Don Alonso* the Great : For

P

a Greek

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a *Greek* Bishop, whose Name was *Stephen*, having happened to come in Pilgrimage to the first Church, he laughed at the *Spaniards*, when he heard them relate *St. James's* great military Feats; saying, in Railery, *I thought St. James had been a Fisherman, and not a Warrior*: But *St. James* did not suffer this *Greek* Pilgrim to lie long under that Mistake, for the very next Night he appeared to him armed and mounted just as he used to be when he beat the *Moors*, and having a couple of Keys in his Hand, he held them out to the *Greek*, and said to him, *You see now I am a Warrior, and to Morrow I will with these Keys open the Gates of the City of Conimbra to my dear Spaniards*: And that City having, after an obstinate Siege, been surrendered on that Day, by the *Moors*, to King *Ferdinand*; *St. James's* Name was raised high in *Spain* by that Vision, which helped *Compostella* to that new Church.

Until the Year 1080, the *Spaniards* had only *St. James's* Body, but not his Head; but his Head having been sent at that time from *Jerusalem* to the King's Daughter, she was so kind as to give it to *Don Diego de Gilmorez*, the first Archbishop of *Compostella*; who with great Solemnity joined the Head and the Body together, after they had been parted a thousand Years: That Archbishop did likewise take down the Church which
had

had been built by *Don Alonso* the Great, and on the same Ground did build that magnificent Church which is now standing.

And whereas, until this time, St. *James's* Body had lain open in the Marble Coffin it was first found in; but so as not to be shewed to any Person but the King, if he desired to see it; Archbishop *Gilmorez* built it up so in a Vault under the high Altar of his new Church, that it should never be seen any more by any Person whatsoever: For which Action, that Archbishop's Prudence is highly extolled by the *Spanish* Historians; who say, that Relicks, though they may not lose their miraculous Virtue by standing open, yet may lose their Reverence, and especially with Eyes which are not so full of Superstition as not to have something of Curiosity in them.

This is the Substance of the Legend of St. *James*; and that the Reader may not think that this Story is believed no where but in *Spain*, he must know, that the Truth of St. *James's* Body being at *Compostella*, has been confirmed by the Breves of several Popes: And who having granted the same *Indulgences* to those that go thither in Pilgrimage, as are granted to Pilgrimages to *Jerusalem*; the Western Christians were, by those *Indulgences*, set on flocking from all Parts to *Compostella* in vast Multitudes, to the great Benefit of the distressed *Spanish* Kings: For though the Re-

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ports of St. *James's* own personal military Feats against the *Moors*, may not be very certain ; certain it is, that his Pilgrims did both with their Purfes and Persons do the *Spaniards* great Service against those Infidels; and the Truth is, that was the great Design of that pious Fraud.

I shall here only enumerate the Absurdities expressed in this Legend, which are plain Indications of its being a foolishly framed, tho' cunningly devised, Fable.

As, *First*, St. *James's* going to the Blessed Virgin to have a License from her to do what Christ had commanded him.

Secondly, The Blessed Virgin, in whom no Grace shined more illustriously than a profound Humility in the Sight of God, requiring him to build his first Church in *Spain* to her Honour.

Thirdly, St. *James* having sailed round *Spain* before he landed in it.

Fourthly, His having raised an old Heathen Prophet to Life, who had been dead and buried near six hundred Years.

Fifthly, His having built a Church in *Spain* within ten Years after Christ's Ascension, with the whole Story of the *Jaspar* Pillar ; and which Story is so firmly believed, that, to this Day, there is no *Lady* so famous all over *Spain* and *Portugal*, for working of Miracles, as our *Lady of the Pillar*.

Sixthly,

Sixthly, The *Marble Ship* his Body was carried in from *Joppa* to *Galicia*.

Seventhly, There being a King of *Galicia* at that time.

Eighthly, His Fighting against the *Moors*, armed Cap-a-pie, and mounted on a prancing white Palfrey.

Ninthly, The yearly Tribute of an hundred Christian Damsels paid by the *Spaniards* to the *Moors*.

Tenthly, St. *James's* Head having been sent from *Jerusalem* to the King's Daughter, and by her sent to *Compostella*, above a thousand Years after he was killed. His Head is likewise at *Braga*; and if the Dean of that Church his Word may be taken for it, who shewed it to me, and to some *Protestant* Merchants, it is certainly the true Head; more Miracles than can be numbered having been wrought by it, as he told us, to confirm its being so.

In a word, this whole Legend strikes one so with the Air of an idle Tale; that it is not easy to imagine, how any Credulity can have a Throat wide enough to swallow it.

But as it looks like a Curse on the Devisors of pious Frauds, as I have elsewhere observed, that they do not only garnish their Stories with any Appearances of Truth, but do seem to have studied to have made them as improbable as it was possible, to make the believing of them to be the more meritorious;

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so this Legend is, I think, a very plain Instance of such an Infatuation. For had the Inventors of this Legend, and who were entirely at their Liberty to have done it, but told the same Story of any other Apostle, but chiefly of *St. Paul*; though it would not have been without sufficient Evidences of its being false, yet it would not have had its very Foundations so visibly overturned by the Scriptures, as they are, being told of *St. James*: And in Truth, as to the Scriptures, the same may be said of the Story of *St. Peter's* having been at *Rome*, and of all the Consequences drawn from that Supposition.

For, *First*, As *St. Luke* saith expressly, that *St. James* was killed at *Jerusalem*, and he is the only Apostle whose Death is recorded in the Holy Scriptures; so all ancient Histories do agree, that *St. James* suffered Martyrdom within ten Years after Christ's Ascension.

Secondly, Whereas this Legend saith, that *St. James* left *Jerusalem*, and went into *Spain*, upon the Dispersion which was caused by *St. Stephen's* Martyrdom; *St. Luke* saith expressly, *That none of the Apostles departed from Jerusalem on that Occasion.*

Thirdly, It was not lawful for *St. James*, nor for any of the Apostles, to preach Christ's Gospel to the Gentiles, until they were commanded to do it, in the Vision which *St. Peter* had before he went to *Cornelius*: Now it is
certain,

certain, that Vision, which opened the Door to the Preaching of the Gospel amongst the Gentiles, was not till within three Years of St. *James's* Death.

Lastly, St. *Paul* speaking of his purpose to go and preach the Gospel in *Spain*, in the fifteenth Chapter of his Epistle to the *Romans*, saith expressly, on that Occasion, *That he strived to preach the Gospel, not where Christ was named, lest he should build on another Man's Foundation.* St. *Paul*, when he writ that Epistle, and which he did fifteen Years after St. *James's* Death, must not therefore have known any thing of St. *James's* having preached in *Spain*, and of his having built a Church, and erected Bishopricks in it.

And as the Foundations of this Legend are overturned by the Holy Scriptures, so neither has it any Colour of ancient Tradition to stand upon; having never been once mentioned by any Author that writ before the ninth Century: Neither is there a Syllable concerning it in any of the ancient *Spanish* Councils. By which deep and long Silence of Antiquity, the Devisors and Patrons of this Legend, were prompted to open the richest Vein of Forgeries, and of Interpolations of ancient Writings, that was ever opened to support any novel Fiction; that of the Papal Supremacy only excepted: For in order to help this Legend to some Credit, an Histo-

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ry was forged by them, under the Name of *Dexter*, who lived in the fourth Century; and another under the Name of *Isidore*, who lived in the sixth Century; and another under the Name of *Bede*, who lived in the seventh Century; and another under the Name of one *Turpin*, who, if there was ever any such Man, lived in the ninth Century: And by the same Hands, this Story was foisted into the *Mozaribick* Liturgy, and into some other ancient Writings.

I shall not trouble the Reader with any Proofs of those Histories being all spurious; seeing they are all acknowledged to be so, by *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*, and by all other Criticks, *Papists*, as well as *Protestants*, that were not *Spaniards*. And in Truth their Spuriousness is so palpable, that one cannot read them, and not feel it.

There is but one truly ancient Monument made use of, to bear Testimony to the Truth of this Legend; and which, tho' I have mentioned it on another Occasion, I shall here insert.

That ancient Monument is the Stone of the High Altar of the Church of *St. Payo*, in *Compostella*; on which the following Inscription is legible.

D M S
Atiamo et Atte T Lumpsa
Viria Emo Neptis Piano
XVI E T S E C.

Which

Which Inscription is read and commented on as followeth, by the Champions for this Legend.

Consecrated to the greatest God.

*Atiamo, Erato, Viriamo, Nepotis, Piano,
Zuuito, Teliforo,*

Were all Martyrs, saith the Compostellan Commentary, and did suffer in Galicia, in the Village of Sarep, before the Apostle went to Jerusalem; and who did for that reason leave this Altar with his Disciples, to say Mass upon, in Memory of the above-named Saints.

But this ancient Monument, after it had been for some hundreds of Years, an unquestioned Evidence of St. *James's* having been in *Spain*; had, about an hundred and fifty Years ago, the ill Luck to have its Authority very much shaken, by having been critically read by *Ambrosius Morales*, a famous *Spanish* Antiquary; who has left us the following Account of that Inscription.

‘ In the famous Monastery of the Benedictine Nuns, that joins to the Holy Church
‘ of St. *James*, (saith *Morales*,) and is dedicated to the glorious Martyr *Pelayo*, whom
‘ in that Country they commonly call St. *Payo*; there is an Ara on the Altar, which
‘ they affirm to have been consecrated by
‘ the Apostles, and that they themselves said
‘ Mass

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‘ Mafs on it, and that it was brought thither
 ‘ with the bleſſed Body of St. *James* : Now
 ‘ there is, (ſaith *Morales*,) not only no Foun-
 ‘ dation for the Truth of this Story ; but
 ‘ there is juſt Cauſe to believe, that That
 ‘ Stone, which is at preſent in the ſame State
 ‘ it was in when it was firſt made, could ne-
 ‘ ver be an Altar. I obſerved it with great
 ‘ Attention in the Company of ſeveral learn-
 ‘ ed Men ; who had all the ſame Thoughts
 ‘ of it that I had, the thing indeed being too
 ‘ clear and manifeſt for any ſuch to doubt
 ‘ of : For it is viſible, that the Stone is the
 ‘ Grave-Stone of ſome Heathens, and the
 ‘ Inſcription may with great Eaſe be transla-
 ‘ ted as followeth.

This Stone is conſecrated to the Gods of the Dead.

*And dedicated to the Memories of Afiamo,
 and of Atte, and of Lumpſa ; as alſo to
 her Memory, who erected it, Viria Emofa,
 their pious Grand-child, being ſixteen
 Years of Age.*

‘ This is what the Stone contains ; there-
 ‘ fore they that conſecrated it an Altar,
 ‘ would have done well to have defaced the
 ‘ Letters ; by which means they would have
 ‘ removed the Indignity that ſtares all Peo-
 ‘ ple in the Face, that conſider what a
 ‘ thing

‘ thing it is, to have the most Holy Body
‘ and Blood of Christ our Redeemer, con-
‘ secrated and placed upon the Tomb-Stone
‘ of Heathens, whereon the Devils are in-
‘ vocated’. Thus far *Morales*.

But so far is Superstition from being ob-
liged, by such Discoveries as these, to part
with the Blunders which are thus clearly
detected by them; that on the contrary, on all
such Occasions, it shuts its Eyes closer, and
embraces its Blunders faster, than it did be-
fore: And having its Spleen whetted by
such Detections, it raged against Gramma-
rians, and Criticks, as an impious Brood, not
fit to be suffered to live. And so, notwith-
standing *Morales*’s true Reading of that Altar-
Stone, *Atiamo*, and all the other Heathens,
named on it, are at *Compostella* still St. *James*’s
Disciples, and Christian Martyrs; and are
prayed to as such, if not more, than
they were before: As *Viarius* is likewise at
Ebora, notwithstanding *Resendius*, above an
hundred Years ago, did demonstrate, that
That Saint did owe both his Name, and his
Being, to an ancient Heathen *Roman* In-
scription; whereon nothing was legible, but
the Words *Viaram Curator*.

In the *Spanish Martyrology*, we meet with
another very odd Evidence of St. *James*’s
having been in *Spain*, and consecrated se-
veral Bishops there; where, on the fourth of
March,

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March, it is said, *At the Cheronenfus, in the South of Spain, not far from Valentia, St. Basil Bishop of Carthagenæ, Eugenius of Valentia, Pius of Sevil, Agathadorus of Tarracona, Elpidius of Toledo, Ætherius of Barcelona, Capito of Lugo, Ephrem of Asturias, Nestor of Palencia, and Arcadius of Santono, Bishops, and the Disciples of St. James; being assembled together to hold a Council, did, in the beginning of Nero's Cruelty, by Martyrdom, through the Power of Fire, attain to the inexhaustible Light of Whiteness.*

Now, in the *Greek Menology*, on the very same Day of the same Month, we have all the same Saints named; but as *Greek*, and not as *Spanish* Martyrs: And in the *Roman Martyrology*, it is said, *That they all suffered Martyrdom in the Chersonesus, a Place well known in Greece.*

Now the *Spanish Monks*, as they were fishing for Evidences to support the Credit of this Legend; having by some Accident or other, come to understand, that *Chersonesus* signified a *Peninsula*; though not so neither as to be able to spell it Right; upon there being such a Tract of Land on the Coast of *Spain*, they made that *Peninsula* the Place where all those Christians suffered Martyrdom; and created them all St. *James's* Disciples, and the Bishops of the above-named *Spanish* Cities: There are several other such Evidences

Evidences as these, in the *Spanish Martyrology*, of St. *James's* having been in *Spain*; but I shall not trouble the Reader with them, who may judge of the rest by this Sample.

But I am sorry, that I am not able to present him with a List of the Relicks, which have been drawn to *Compostella* by this Legend, and which, without it, is imperfect: For though I have seen a Catalogue of them, and a noble Collection it is, at present I have it not by me; and I shall therefore, to make some amends, give him a List of the chief Relicks in *Oviedo*, a City not far from *Compostella*, and which Relicks having been brought to that Place, by the Legend of St. *James's* Body being in its Neighbourhood, they are visited there by all St. *James's* Pilgrims, with great Devotion: I shall here expose that List, in *Marineus Siculus's* own Words, out of whom I had it.

‘ In the City of *Oviedo*, saith *Marineus*,
‘ besides a Cross which was divinely made
‘ by Angels, there are many more things
‘ worthy to be published; of which I shall
‘ relate a few, that they that read them may
‘ desire to see them.

1. ‘ There is a Chest worshiped, which
‘ was made of incorruptible Matter, by the
‘ Apostles; and is full of the wonderful
‘ Works of God; which Chest, God, the
‘ chief Opifex of all Things, did miraculously

ly

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' ly tranſlate from the City of *Jeruſalem* in-
 ' to *Africk*, and out of *Africk* into *Carthagena*
 ' in *Spain*, and from *Carthagena* to *Sevil*, and
 ' from *Sevil* to *Toledo*, and from *Toledo* into
 ' *Aſturias*, and there into the Church of St.
 ' *Saviour*, in the Place called *Oviedo* : In
 ' which Cheſt, when the Priests had opened
 ' it, a great many Boxes were found, ſome
 ' made of Gold, others of Silver, and others
 ' of Ivory ; and which having been all o-
 ' pened, under a great Fear of God, Tickets
 ' were found in them, containing many
 ' Myſteries, and which are all kept at this
 ' time in the Church of *Oviedo*, and ſhew-
 ' ed there to Pilgrims, as they go that
 ' way : But paſſing over many of them, I
 ' will briefly enumerate a few of the chief
 ' ſaving Monuments, in the Church of *O-*
 ' *viedo*, in whoſe moſt holy Temple are all
 ' the following wonderful Relicks. 2.
 ' There is a Piece of the Wood of Chriſt's
 ' Croſs. 3. Some of the Thorns of his Crown,
 ' and a Piece of his Sepulchre. 4. Some
 ' of the Linen, and ſome of the Coat, and
 ' ſome of the Clouts, which Chriſt was wrapt
 ' in in the Manger. 5. Some of the Bread of
 ' the Lord's Supper, and ſome of that with
 ' which he ſatiſfied five Thouſand. 6. Some
 ' of the *Manna* which God rained down
 ' upon the Children of *Iſrael*. 7. The Earth
 ' of Mount *Olivet*, which our Lord's Feet
 ' ſtood

stood upon when he ascended into Heaven.
 8. The Earth our Lord stood upon when
 he rais'd *Lazarus*; and some of the
 Earth of *Lazarus's* Grave. 9. Some of
 the Blessed Virgin's Milk, and some of
 her Hair and Cloaths. 10. One of the
 thirty Pieces of Silver for which *Judas* sold
 the Lord. 11. The Pall and Ornaments
 which the Queen of Heaven gave to *Ile-
 fonso* Archbishop of *Toledo*. 12. A Piece
 of the Mantle of the Prophet *Elias*, and
 some of St. *Tirfus's* Vestment. 13. The
 Hand of St. *Stephen* the Protomartyr. 14.
 St. *Peter's* Right-foot Shoe. 15. St. *John*
 the Baptist's Forehead, and some of his
 Hair. 16. Some of the Bones of the In-
 nocents. 17. The Joints of the Fingers,
 and other Bones, of the three Children,
Ananias, Azarias, and Misael. 18. Some
 of St. *Mary Magdalene's* Hair, with which
 she wiped Christ's Feet. 19. Some of
 the Stone with which Christ's Sepulchre
 was sealed. 20. Some of the *Olive*, which
 Christ held in his Hand on the Feast of
Palm-Branches. 21. Some of the Rock of
Sinai, on which *Moses* fasted. 22. A Piece
 of *Moses's* Rod, with which he divided the
Red-Sea before the Children of *Israel*. 23.
 St. *Peter's* and St. *Andrew's* Baskets. 24.
 Some Pieces of the broiled Fish and Honey-
 comb. And besides all these, there are so
 many

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‘ many Bodies of Holy Martyrs, so many
‘ Bones of Prophets, Confessors, and Vir-
‘ gins, and so many other Pledges kept
‘ there, that God only is able to number
‘ them.

But before I leave *Oviedo*, I cannot but take Notice of an ancient Martyr, belonging to that City, of whom the *Spanish Martyrology* speaks as followeth.

On the twenty-second of May, saith that Martyrology, St. Publius Bæbius Venustus, a Martyr; who in Honour to the Temple of the Blessed Mary, built a Bridge, at the Request of the Order of the Oviedo-ans; that so a Passage might be opened to that Church XXC HS; in which Bridge he left this Monument of his Piety, in the Bowels of a Stone.

Now the Stone which contains this Monument in its Bowels, has the following Inscription upon its Surface.

P. BÆBIUS VENUSTUS P. BÆBII VENETIÆP BÆSISCERIS NEPOS ORETANUS. PETENTE ORDINE ET POPULO IN HONOREM DOMUS DIVINÆ PONTEM FECIT EX HS XXC CIRCENSIBUS EDITIS.

D D

That

That is to say,

Publius Bæbius Venustus, of Oviedo, the Son of Publius Bæbius Venetus, and the Grandson of Publius Bæfisceris, did at the Request of the Order and People, build a Bridge to the Honour of the Divine House; it cost eighty Sestertiums, and its Dedication was celebrated with Stage-Plays.

Let any one that reads this Inscription, judge, whether by *Domus Divina*, in it, a Church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, or a Heathen Temple is meant; and whether *Ludi Circenses*, or *Heathen Stage-Plays*, are most proper at the Dedication of a Christian, or of a Heathen Work of Piety.

And on this Occasion, I cannot but say, that it is well for *Popery*, that it has immense Wealth and Honours to give it Credit; for, were it naked, and without those charming Advantages, its *Relicks*, *Legends*, *Blunders*, *Forgeries*, and *pretended Miracles*, would certainly make it the most contemptible, and the most ridiculous Sect of Religion in the World; as its unparalleled Pride and Cruelty, make it now the most hated. And as considering the great Zeal wherewith the learned *Spaniards*, as well as others, do contend for the Truth of this Legend, I cannot but think, that they believe

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it : So I cannot impute their Belief of it, and of a thousand more such idle Tales, to any thing else, but to the Execution of the following Scripture-Sentence upon them : *Because they receive not the Love of the Truth, God shall send them strong Delusions, that they shall believe a Lye :* That is, incredible Stories, which they could not otherwise have believed. And if by the *Truth* here, the Apostle means the true Worship of the true God, as probably he does ; by a *Lye*, he must mean the absurd and false Stories whereby Idolatry was supported : For let Images, and the other visible Objects of Creature-Worship, be but without bold Reports of Miracles being daily wrought by them ; and, in a short time, they would certainly fall under so great and universal Contempt, as to be cast, by all their Worshipers, with Indignation, to the *Moles*, and to the *Batts* ; or to be preserved only for Ornaments. And, as it is manifest, that the Image, and all the other Creature-Worship, which is in the Church of *Rome*, was derived from the Heathens ; so it is not less manifest, that That Worship did bring along with it, that lying Spirit to support it under a Profession of Christianity, which had so long upheld it among the Heathens : And under which *Holy Profession*, whose first Principle is, that there is but one God, and that he only is to be

be worshiped; that lying Spirit, has been both bolder and busier, than it was ever known to have been elsewhere: The Heathen Legends, though bold and numerous enough, yet were both, for Number and Length, much short of the *Popish*: However, as to the main, they are much alike; in that they leave no room for doubting of their being descended of the same Father; and who is called *the Father of Lyes*, (as *Idols* are called a *Lye*,) I suppose, on the Account of *Legendary*, more than of any other sort of *Lyes* whatsoever.

Finally, since all Legends are certainly of Heathenish Extraction, and are devised for the Heathenish Purpose of giving Credit to Creature-Worship; I shall conclude this Tract, with *Polybius's* Thoughts of them; who, in his 15th Book, having Occasion to mention the Legends of the Image of *Diana*, among the *Bargylites*; and of the Image of *Vesta* among the *Fassians*; which do affirm, that no Snow, nor Rain, though those Images stood in them, could fall upon them; and likewise the Legend of the Temple of *Jupiter* in *Arcadia*; which affirmed, that whoever was once within the Doors of that Temple, (but into which no Body was suffered to enter,) his Body did never after cast any Shadow, though it was in the clearest Sunshine; that wise Historian passeth the following

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lowing Censure on those, and on all other such Legends.

‘ In Things which do help a Reverence
‘ for a Deity in the Vulgar, Writers who
‘ do indulge themselves a little in the rela-
‘ ting of Miracles and Fables, may be par-
‘ doned for it ; whereas, if they do it beyond
‘ Measure, in my Judgment, that ought not
‘ to be forgiven them.

Whether the Devisors and Relators of this Legend, and of that of *Loretto*, and of a thousand more, have kept within the Bounds set to the Heathens, by *Polybius*, I leave to the candid Christian Reader to judge.

A N

HISTORY

Of the sad Catastrophe of

ANTONIO PEREZ,

Secretary of State

T O

PHILIP II.

King of *SPAIN.*

PRELIMINARY

REPORT

OF THE

COMMISSIONERS OF THE LAND OFFICE

IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

PASSED IN 1841

AND

THE PREFACE.

THE following Tract, if I am not much mistaken in it, presents the Reader with one of the greatest Riddles in History; and which, after I had endeavoured all that I was able to have penetrated into it, I must own I was not Oedipus enough to interpret: I wish the Reader better Success with it.

To have a King command a Minister, in whom he reposed great Confidence, to procure the Death of another of his Ministers, as a thing necessary for his Service; and after that was done, though that King might easily have prevented it, to suffer that Minister to be long and cruelly persecuted for it; and at the end of eleven Years, to order him to declare the Causes, in Judgment, which had moved him to command that Death; and upon that Minister's having denied to do that, because he had promised the King in private never to discover them, to permit him to be racked to oblige him to confess them; and instead of giving Way to that Minister's putting an End to that Prosecution, either by coming to an Agreement with the Prosecutor, or by fleeing to a Sanctuary, furiously to drive it on; which is the Case in the following Tract; is, I confess, a Mystery, I was so little able to comprehend, that I have sometimes found my self disposed to question, whether the King that acted that Part, could possibly have commanded that Death.

And had it not been for one thing, I believe I should have been inclined to have thought that he had not; which

was, that though that Death was positively laid to the King's Charge, in Print, some Time before he died; and in a Book which must have made as great a Noise as ever any Book did, yet nothing was ever offered in Print, in the King's Vindication, or in Contradiction to any thing contained in that Book, either by the Court of Madrid, or by any Spanish Writer, that I have seen, or heard of, though I have made Enquiry.

For had not the King commanded that Death; to believe, that neither the Court of Madrid, nor no Spanish Writer should ever have offered one Word in his Vindication, after he was so publickly charged with it; appears to me, to be much more difficult, than to believe the King though he had commanded it, should afterwards take the Course he did; considering, how difficult the King had made it for that Minister to prove it judicially, and the Methods he used at last to have destroyed him, and all his Discharges.

But however that Case was, its having been unhappily carried out of Castile into Arragon, was of fatal Consequence to that Kingdom; which by having contended violently to maintain its Rights in that Cause, had them all taken away; to the great Satisfaction of the Castilian Ministers, to whom the Arragonesse Rights and Liberties had been long a grievous Eye-sore; fearing, it is like, that, if they were let alone, they might, in time, work their way into Castile.

In History we meet with two Evidences of the great Ill-will the Castilian Ministers bore to the Arragonesse Rights.

The First is in the Reign of Ferdinand the Catholick; who being by Inheritance King of Arragon, and by Marriage King of Castile; the Castilian Ministers, when he was among them, urged him vehemently, and at a time when he was very angry at his Commands having

met

met with some Opposition in Arragon, to destroy all these Rights which gave him daily so much Trouble.

But that great Prince, who had always Wit in his Anger, told them, That besides that he inherited the Crown of Arragon, with those Conditions; and had taken an Oath, and under heavy Censures, never to violate any of those Rights; he had a Rule as to Kings, and their Subjects; which Rule was, to keep the Balances even betwixt them; since, if they were not kept so, the one or the other would be always striving, not only to bring them back to an Equality, but to get more Weight than they had lost, to the Ruin of the one, or the other, if not of both: A Rule, which would make both Princes and People happy, if they both observed it. The Second was in the Reign of Philip II, who being angry with the Arragoneses, for having insisted on some of their Rights, in Contradiction to his Will; was told by the fierce Duke of Alva, that one would not accept of a Kingdom, on the Terms he was King of Arragon; and who did offer, if the King would but send him into that Kingdom with six thousand of the Soldiers which he had trained up in the Art of War, to reduce it so to his Obedience, that their Rights should never molest him any more.

But though at that Time the King did not think fit to follow that violent Counsel; yet on this Occasion, and being called to it by the Arragonese Inquisitors, he took it, as the Reader will see in the following Story: And in which he may see likewise, that how ill soever Ministers, whilst they are in Favour, do stand affected to the Legal Rights of the Subjects; yet if they themselves come to be prosecuted, as they are commonly, after they fall into Disgrace; that they are then glad that there are such Rights, and do seek to cover themselves with them, against the Prince's Displeasure, or which is worse, the Malice of their Successors

Successors in the Ministry ; and which, if I am not mistaken, was the Duke of Alva's own Case, not many Years after he gave the King that violent Counsel : So that in this Case, Affliction does certainly give Understanding, to those that were without it whilst they were in Honour ; and which a Royal Prophet has declared not to be an uncommon Thing.

I have but one thing, besides his Candor, to desire of the Reader ; and that is, after he has had the Patience to peruse this Tract, to consider how great a Mercy it was to England, to be so soon delivered from the Government of such a Prince, as he will see Philip was, and to have Queen Elizabeth succeed him, to whose long and happy Reign, under God, it is very plain, that England does owe its present great Trade, Strength, and Wealth ; but above all the Establishment of the true Christian Religion in it ; and having considered this, to thank God for it, and to honour the Memory of a Queen, who was so great a Blessing to her People ; and to pray that our present gracious Queen, who treads in that great Princess's Steps, may have a longer, and yet a more prosperous Reign than she had.

A N
H I S T O R Y

Of the sad Catastrophe of

ANTONIO PEREZ,

Secretary of State

T O

PHILIP II. King of *Spain.*

Antonio Perez, the Subject of the following Tragedy, was Son to the famous *Gonzalo Perez*, who was forty Years sole Secretary of State for *Spain* to the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, and to his Son King *Philip* the Second. Which was a long time for one to stand in so slippery a Post, and in the Reigns of two Kings so different in their Tempers.

Antonio being a Lad of pregnant Parts, was, by the Emperor's express Command, taken off of his Academical Studies, in which he was making an extraordinary Progress; and

and was put young into the Secretary's Office, under his Father; and in that School of Politics, and under so good a Tutor, *Antonio* became such a Proficient, that, when his Father died, he succeeded him in his Place of Secretary of State: And that Office being judged by King *Philip* not to be a Province large enough for *Antonio's* great Capacity, he made him likewise Secretary of War; and at a time when those two Offices never had more or greater Business: In both which difficult Posts, *Antonio*, for many Years, behaved himself so well, as to be, what few publick Ministers have ever been, both a great Favourite, and very Popular.

He lived also in an entire Friendship with *Ruy Gomez*, Prince of *Eboli*, and his Princess; and with the Marquiss *de los Velez*, who were the Persons most in Favour with the King: So that never did any publick Minister seem to be more firmly established in his great Offices; or more likely, than he was, to have died in them, after his Father's Example.

But such is the Uncertainty of all human Affairs, and particularly in Princes Courts; that, by one false Step, and which he could not avoid making neither without present Ruin, he was not only tumbled down all at once; but was, for all the rest of his Life, and which lasted many Years after, one of the unhappiest Men that we read of.

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The bad Step, which proved so fatal to *Antonio*, was his having ordered *John de Escovedo*, who was Secretary to *Don John* of *Austria*, to be murdered one Night in *Madrid*; and which, though it was done by the King's express command, I do call *Murther*; because, how guilty soever the unfortunate *Escovedo* might be of Crimes which deserved Death, yet he was never legally convicted of any, and was therefore put to Death contrary to the standing Laws of that Realm.

But this Death of *Escovedo's*, and the great Misfortunes which befel *Antonio Perez*, upon his having had a Hand in it, having opened to us a Scene of History relating to *Don John* of *Austria*; which, though very considerable, might otherwise never have taken Air; and its Light being necessary to let us see the bottom of this sad Catastrophe; I shall here display it to the Reader, from its Beginning to its End.

Don John of *Austria*, who was the natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, by an unknown Woman; having had a Princely Education given him by his Father; and being both a fine Person of a Man, and of a lofty Genius, he still aimed at higher Honours than he had been born to; seeking, by the Loftiness of his Views, and the Prowess of his Atchievements, to remedy the Misfortune of his Birth.

For

For though he was left young by his Father, and to a Brother who had nothing of a *German* in his Temper, nor did seem to have much Regard for his Father's Memory ; yet this young Prince, did, by some Charm or other, so insinuate himself into *Philip's* Affections, that he was very kind to him ; both allowing him a Princely Maintenance, and placing such Persons about him as were able to qualify him for the highest Posts he could give him.

And as his Father the Emperor had made *Don Lewis Quixada*, who was a considerable Man, his Governour ; so his Brother King *Philip* did place *Don John de Soto* about him, who had been Secretary for the Kingdom of *Naples*, and was a Person well skilled in all Affairs of Peace and War.

The *Moriscoes* of *Granada*, having, in the Year 1569, taken up Arms on Occasion of some new Laws which had been imposed upon them, in order to convert them to Christianity ; and so fortified themselves among the Mountains of that Kingdom, that the *Spaniards* had not, in the Space of sixteen Months, been able to reduce them to Obedience ; the King judged it necessary to send a considerable Army against them : And having made his Brother *Don John*, who was then but two and twenty Years of Age, General of it ; he appointed *Soto* to attend him,

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as his Secretary and Counſellor : And *Don Lewis Quixada*, who was very dear to *Don John*, having been killed by the *Moriſcoes* in that Expedition ; *Soto* did become ſo much this Prince's Favourite, that he ſeemed to be wholly governed by him.

Don John's extraordinary good Succeſs in his firſt Enterprize ; the *Moriſcoes* having, in a ſhort time, been totally ſubdued by him ; recommended him to the King ſo much, that he preſently after named him Generaliſſimo of that great Fleet which was in the Year 1571, in Conjunction with the Pope's, and the *Venetians*, ſet out againſt the *Turks* : And which having gained the moſt famous Victory of *Lepanto* ; the greateſt Share of the Glory of that Victory fell upon *Don John*, 'as being Generaliſſimo ; and who having on that Occaſion been highly complimented by the Pope, the *Venetians*, and moſt of the other Princes of *Europe*, thoſe loud and univerſal Applauſes did raiſe ſuch ſtrong Fumes in a Head over which but bare twenty-five Years had paſt, as ſet it on aking ſo after a Crown, that it was never cured but by Death ; the only Remedy, except Fruition, for that Diſtemper of the Mind.

Theſe aspiring Thoughts of *Don John's*, were probably the Ruin of the League againſt the *Turks* ; he having been hindered by them from proſecuting the Victory of *Lepanto*, that
he

he might be at Leisure to seek out a Kingdom for himself. But whatsoever it was led *Don John* to *Tunis*, when he should have gone against the *Turks*; after he had conquered that City and Kingdom, it is certain, that he did set his Heart extreamly on being made King of them: And so, though after he had taken that City, he received express Orders from the Court at *Madrid*, to plunder and dismantle it; he was so far from yielding Obedience to those Orders, that he made it much stronger than he found it; and at the same time dispatched an Envoy secretly to his great Friend the Pope, to intreat him to try if he could persuade King *Philip* to give way to his Holiness's making him King of *Tunis*. The Pope, who is always very liberal of his Enemy's Kingdoms to his Favourites, readily undertook that Business; and sent Orders to his Nuncio at *Madrid* to sollicite it in that Court with all possible Diligence; and which the Nuncio having done, he was at last told by the King, after many Compliments passed on the Pope, and his Brother *Don John*, That it was not a thing feasible; and so it was dropt. But the King, who did not at all like this secret Negotiation of *Don John's* with the Pope, before he had made him Privy to it; being satisfied that these aspiring Thoughts of his Brother, if they were not infused into him,

were

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were at least cherished and much animated by his Secretary *Soto*, who was known to be a Man of great Ambition; he had some Thoughts of removing *Soto* presently from about his Brother: But having consulted with the Prince of *Eboli*, and *Antonio Perez*, about it, it was judged to be more convenient, considering how unwilling *Don John* would be to part with *Soto*, to let *Soto* remain with him; yet in some higher, but not so close a Post; and to send *Don John* a new Secretary, to be a Spy upon *Soto*, and to infuse wiser Thoughts into that Prince: And accordingly a Commission was dispatched, constituting *Soto* Proveedor-General of the Armada; and *John de Escovedo*, who was a Creature of the Prince of *Eboli's*, was made Secretary to *Don John*, in *Soto's* Place; and who was charged particularly by the King, to watch *Soto*, and if he found him giving *Don John* any more such Counsels, to acquaint him with it.

But so far was *Escovedo* from faithfully discharging that Office, that he had not been long in *Don John's* Service, before he was got deeper into those Counsels, which he was placed about him on purpose to have countermined, than *Soto* himself. And being a Man of great Dexterity in Business, he had, without acquainting the Court at *Madrid* with it, set a secret Negotiation on Foot

at *Rome*, in order to obtain a much greater Crown for his Master than that of *Tunis* would have been; which was, the Crown of *England*: And having made several Journies betwixt *Don John*, after he was returned to *Italy*, and *Rome*, where he was well received by the Pope; he was at last, upon the King's having appointed *Don John* Governour of the *Netherlands*, sent by him to *Madrid*, to negotiate that Affair with the Pope's Nuncio at that Court: Which, when he had begun to do, the Nuncio one Day sent to *Antonio Perez* to come to his House, having an Affair of great Importance to communicate to him; and when *Antonio Perez* was come, the Nuncio, having taken him into a private Room, asked him, Who that *Escovedo* was that was lately come to Court? *Antonio Perez* answered, It was *John de Escovedo*, who was Secretary to *Don John* of *Austria*: It must be the same, said the Nuncio, for he hath brought a Dispatch to me, from his Holiness, with a Cypher; commanding me to use all possible Diligence, but in such a Manner as *John de Escovedo* shall direct, to persuade his Majesty to invade *England*; and having conquered it, to accommodate *Don John* of *Austria* with the Crown of that Kingdom. *Antonio Perez*, having returned such an Answer to the Nuncio as he thought was proper, went immediately

ately to the King, and acquainted him with the great Secret he had been entrusted with by the Nuncio; and the King being highly diſpleaſed with *Eſcovedo*, for having without his Knowledge engaged the Pope in a Deſign of ſo important a Nature, would have made an Example of him, for his Unfaithfulneſs in the Truſt which had been particularly committed to him, and for which he knew he had been made Secretary to *Don John*, had not his fear of diſobliging the Pope and his Brother too much, reſtrained him from it: He therefore commanded *Antonio Perez* to go preſently and acquaint *Eſcovedo*, with what the Nuncio had told him; and, in order to pump the whole Secret out of him, to offer to join with him in aſſiſting the Nuncio, in this weighty Negotiation; which having been done, the Nuncio, at a private Audience, communicated this great Affair to the King, and in the Pope's Name preſſed him very hard to enter into it with all his Force.

The King's Answer to the Nuncio was, That he was much pleaſed to find his Holineſs ſo zealous for to advance his Brother, to whom he ſhould be ready to give all poſſible Aſſiſtance in this Caſe. And *Don John* believing that if he were at *Madrid* himſelf, he might there, in Conjunction with the Nuncio, ſettle his Buſineſs concerning *England*; notwithstanding he had received the King's

exprefs Command to go directly from *Italy* to *Flanders*, he came unexpectedly to *Madrid*; and having received an Account from *Antonio Perez* and *John de Escovedo*, of the good Posture his Affair about *England* was in, he prepared himself to go forthwith to his Government of the *Netherlands*: And to which, that he might go the more chearfully, the King, before he left *Madrid*, did assure him, that so soon as the Affairs of the *Netherlands* were accommodated by the Project he carried with him, and the States of those Countries would give their Consent to the embarking of the Troops which were to be raised there for that Service, that he would not only give Way to it, but should be glad to have him invade *England*, and made King of that Realm.

With these Assurances *Don John* left *Madrid*, in the Year 1576, and went to the *Netherlands*, with his Head full of Hopes of wearing the Crown of *England*; which, at that time, for the publick Good of *England*, was on the best Head it was ever on before.

But being come to *Flanders*, the Differences betwixt the King and the States of the *Netherlands* were so far from being composed by what he had offered, that they were made rather greater by it; and when the raising and embarking of Troops was proposed by him, they all declared against it, as an Infringement of the Liberties of the free People

ple of that Country. *Don John* being extremely concerned at this Disappointment, had Recourse to his old Friend again, the Pope, whom he supplicated for the Investiture of the Kingdom of *England*, and for Money, Bulls, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Artillery, to enable him to invade that Kingdom.

As to the Investiture, Indulgences, and other Spiritual Preparations, which *Don John* desired, the Pope having an inexhaustible Treasure of them, was without doubt very ready to furnish him with them; but as to the carnal Preparation of Money, that is never easily to be had out of the Papal Treasury. However, the Pope being very zealous to have *England* invaded and reduced to his Obedience, did write to his Nuncio at *Madrid* to speak to the King again about it, and not to give over soliciting him, until he had persuaded him to undertake that holy War: And the Nuncio having thereupon called *Antonio Perez* to him, he acquainted him with the Dispatch he had received from the Pope, and with *Don John's* having writ to his Holiness in Cyphers from *Flanders*, for to dispose Matters for the invading of *England*: With all which *Antonio Perez* made the King acquainted presently, that he might be prepared with an Answer for the Nuncio when he came to speak to him about it.

The King, who was very angry at *Don John's* negotiating this Affair still with the Pope, told the Nuncio, when he spoke to him of it, but without making any Discovery of *Don John's* having writ from *Flanders* to the Pope, ' That this was an Affair that
 ' ought to be well weighed and considered;
 ' and was not to be enterprized, without
 ' seeing whether they should be able to go
 ' through with it; and that not having heard
 ' any thing from his Brother for a pretty
 ' while, he knew not how things stood in the
 ' *Netherlands*; where, if things went not
 ' well, the invading of *England* was an Af-
 ' fair not to be thought of'. And having dismissed the Nuncio with this Answer, the King commanded *Antonio Perez* to write presently to *Don John*, and to give him an Account of what had passed lately betwixt the King and the Nuncio concerning the Affair of *England*; which *Antonio Perez* did, and by the same Courier did write one Letter privately (as he pretended) to *Don John*, and another to *Escovedo*; in which having reproved them for the Application they had made to the Pope, without having acquainted the King with it, he told them, however, that he had accommodated that Matter as well as he was able: Both which Letters, and all the others that he writ to *Don John*, and to *Escovedo*, and all their Answers, (knowing
 this

this to be an Affair of a very delicate and tickliſh Nature,) he ſtill ſhewed to the King, and who, with his own Hand, writ ſomething both upon his Copies, and upon their Answers.

Not long after this, *Antonio Perez* received Advice from *Don John de Vargas Mexias*, the King's Ambaſſador at the Court of *France*, that there were Envoys daily going and coming betwixt *Don John* and the Duke of *Guiſe*; and who, though, at their firſt coming to *Paris*, they did appear abroad, were afterwards ſhut up with that Duke; who, at that time, by having made himſelf the Head of the Zealots, had more Power in *France* than the King himſelf: And *Vargas*, upon this Intelligence, having been commanded by the King narrowly to obſerve all the Motions of thoſe Envoys, and if it were poſſible to diſcover what their Buſineſs was with the Duke of *Guiſe*; in a ſhort time he writ Word, that he had fiſhed it out, and that *Don John* and the Duke were entered into a ſolemn Confederacy, in the Names, and for the Defence of the two Kingdoms of *Spain* and *France*, and of the Catholick Religion.

The King was much more troubled at this, than at all *Don John's* former ſecret Negotiations; his having entered into a League with the moſt aspiring and insolent

Subject of *Europe*, and in the Name and Defence of his Kingdom, without his Knowledge, being so bold a Step, that he apprehended it must needs end in great publick Disturbances. And these Fears of the King were much encreased, by the Letters that were writ at this time by *Don John* and his Secretary *Escovedo* to *Antonio Perez*; in which that Prince expressed a most desperate Discontent, upon his Hopes of the Crown of *England* being vanished; and did vehemently demand to be eased of the Government of the *Netherlands*; with which, I can see no other Reason for his being so much discontented, besides that of their having denied to suffer him to embark any of their People for to invade *England*. In this Letter of the First of *March* 1577, to *Antonio Perez*, he writ as followeth, ‘ My Life, Honour, and Soul, depend so on my leaving of this Government quickly; that the two first will certainly be lost, and the third, through my Despair, will run a great Risk, if I am not speedily eased of it’. And in another Letter of the Tenth of *February*, in the same Year, he writes, ‘ Now that the Design upon *England* is blown over, I know not what to think of; being, by that terrible Blow, struck into so deep a Melancholy, that I have many times strong Impulses to hide my self in an Hermitage: For

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‘ For neither the Shortness of my Life, nor
‘ my own Breast being accustomed to know
‘ all its Obligations, will consent to the re-
‘ maining Course of my Life being answerable
‘ to that which is past : Adding, and
‘ that if he should be continued in the Post
‘ he was in, any longer than one could be
‘ found to succeed him in it, there was no
‘ Resolution that he might not take, even
‘ to the throwing up of his Government,
‘ and going to *Madrid*, when he was least
‘ expected there ; notwithstanding he were
‘ certain that it should cost him his Head’.
Concluding, ‘ That if he were not quickly
‘ recalled, that he should certainly incur the
‘ Case of Disobedience, to avoid that of Infamy ;
‘ and would, *per fas aut nefas*, leave
‘ *Flanders*, and return to *Spain* ; and what
‘ would follow upon his doing that, God
‘ only knew, whose Hand is All-sufficient’.
By this we see how unhappy a thing it commonly is,
for Princes to have their younger Years so prosperous,
that their succeeding Years cannot well keep Pace with them ;
which was the Case of this uneasy Prince.

His Secretary *Escovedo*’s Letters, writ to *Antonio Perez* from *Flanders* at the same time,
were all of the same desperate Strain ; in one
of which of the Third of *February*, he saith,
‘ That his Master, *Don John*, would rather
‘ go an Adventurer into *France*, with six
‘ thousand

‘ thousand Foot, and two thousand Horfe ;
 ‘ than be continued Governour of the *Netherlands*’. And in another he writ ; ‘ Let
 ‘ us preserve the Man that has preserved us
 ‘ all ; and do all that we are able to help
 ‘ him to Contentment, whose Life, since his
 ‘ last Disappointment, is Weariness and Death
 ‘ to him.

Escovedo, before he went to *Flanders*, had talked rashly too, having said to one in Confidence, that, were his Master *Don John* once King of *England*, he would with the Castle and Port of *St. Ander*, and a Fortrefs on the Rock of *Megro*, be able to over-run *Spain* when he pleased ; and which, he said, had formerly been conquered by that Way : And what made those Words to be the more regarded, was *Escovedo*’s having advised the Building of such a Fortrefs, and petitioned to have the Command of it.

Whilst the King was in a great Perplexity, how to prevent *Don John*’s Discontents breaking out into some publick Disturbances, *Escovedo* came unexpectedly from *Flanders* to *Madrid*, with a Dispatch from *Don John* ; and to which he demanded a speedy Answer : The King judging it neither to be safe to return such an Answer to that Dispatch as would give Satisfaction ; nor to delay giving one ; was more intangled than he was before ; and seeing no such Way to dis-
 embarrass

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embarrasses himself, as by dispatching *Escovedo*, not to *Flanders*, but into the next World; he resolved to have it done, and to trust no Body, but *Antonio Perez*, with the Execution of it: And so having called him one Day into the Wardrobe of the *Escorial*, and commanded him to lay the Papers, which he had brought for him to sign, down upon the Table; he said, ‘ *Antonio Perez*, I have both waking and sleeping revolved the Course of all my Brother’s Negotiations over in my Mind; or rather indeed of *Escovedo*’s, and of his Predecessors *John de Soto*: And I do find that by their Plots they have brought things to that pass, that it is necessary to come to a Resolution to put a speedy stop to them; and the only Remedy that I can think of in this Case, is, to have *Escovedo* made away; since to apprehend him would make my Brother more desperate than any Dispatch I can send by him into *Flanders*. I am resolved therefore to have that done, and not to trust any Body but your self with the Execution of it; both for your known Fidelity and Dexterity, and because those Plots are not known so well by any, as by you: And for the same Reason that this ought to be done, it ought to be done speedily.

Antonio Perez, who was much surprized, made Answer, ‘ That though he was infinite-
ly

‘ ly obliged to his Majesty for the Confidence
 ‘ he reposed in him ; yet his Zeal for his Ma-
 ‘ jesty’s Service made him desire to have
 ‘ leave to propose one thing.

‘ What is that said the King ?

‘ Sir, said *Antonio Perez*, though your
 ‘ Majesty’s Prudence and State are such as do
 ‘ secure you against Ill-will amidst the great-
 ‘ est Offences ; yet in this Case I cannot but
 ‘ consider your Majesty as a Party, and my
 ‘ self, by Reason of the Resentments which
 ‘ their Intrigues have raised in me, as a Par-
 ‘ ty likewise ; it would therefore, in my O-
 ‘ pinion, be convenient to have the Judg-
 ‘ ment of a third Person, which, would both
 ‘ much ascertain and credit this Resolution :
 ‘ As to the rest, here I am, and so much
 ‘ your Majesty’s, as to have no Will of my
 ‘ own, no more than the Hand has in the
 ‘ Execution of the Master’s Commands.

To this the King replied presently, ‘ *An-
 ‘ tonio*, if you propose the communicating of
 ‘ this Secret, because you are not willing to
 ‘ venture on the Execution of it alone, there
 ‘ is something in that ; but if it is for Coun-
 ‘ sel you propose it, there is no need of it :
 ‘ For I must tell you, that Kings, like emi-
 ‘ nent Physicians, in Extremities, do execute
 ‘ their own Wills, without advising with
 ‘ those they do consult with in other Cases ;
 ‘ for in Matters of this Nature, and in which
 ‘ you

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‘ you may believe me, because I speak in
‘ my Profession, the asking of Counsel does
‘ more Hurt than Good’. But *Antonio Pe-*
rez, who knew his Master too well, not to
be willing to have a Witness of his having
commanded this; insisted so on having
it communicated to the Marquis *de los Velez*;
that though the King would not himself speak
of it to him, he gave him Leave to ask that
Marquis’s Opinion of it; which *Antonio Pe-*
rez having done, the Marquis, having laid
all that had been writ and said by *Escovedo*
together, told him; ‘ That were he asked,
‘ when he had the Sacrament in his Mouth,
‘ whether *Escovedo*, or any other turbulent
‘ Person, should be put to Death? He would
‘ Name *Escovedo*.

But though, upon this Declaration of that
Marquis, *Escovedo*’s Death was resolved on;
it was not so soon settled how it should be
executed: At first they had Thoughts of ar-
resting him, and trying him publickly for his
Life; but that having been laid aside, as un-
safe, because it could not be done without
bringing *Don John* upon the Stage, to the ex-
asperating of his present great Discontents
to a dangerous Excess; and that of dispatch-
ing him with Poison having been rejected for
the same Reason; it was at last agreed, that
he should be stabbed in the Street at Night,
as he went home from Court, and that it should
be

be given out that it had been done upon some private Revenge: And which being no uncommon thing at *Madrid*, they did hope that it would have passed over without any great Noise, and without giving *Don John* any Jealousy of its having been done on his Account.

And accordingly on the Eve of *Good Friday*, when the Streets of *Madrid* are all Night crowded with People of both Sexes; and which, for that Reason, is the Night of the greatest Mis-rule in the whole Year; *Escovedo* being met in the Street by four or five Ruffians, they first jostled him, and having afterwards picked a Quarrel with him, they all drew their Daggers, and immediately stabbed him dead upon the Place.

And whereas *Antonio Perez*, that there might not be any Suspicion of his having been any way accessory to that Murder, had on pretence of an extraordinary Devotion retired to *Alcala*, some Days before it was committed; so, when the News of it was brought thither, he seemed to be so much disturbed for the Loss of so dear a Friend, that his Devotion, and all that were about him, had enough to do to keep him from immediately taking Post for *Madrid*, to find out the Authors of that execrable Murder: Notwithstanding among other Arguments, they very innocently endeavoured to possess him, that had he been at *Madrid* when the

Blow

Blow was given, it would have reached him likewise.

We are not told how *Eſcovedo's* Death was reſented by *Don John*, who did not outlive the News of it many Months ; he having on the Firſt of *October* following, the Day whereon he uſed to celebrate his two great Victories at *Lepanto* and *Tunis*, died at *Namur*, of a peſtilential Fever, ſome ſay, of pure Diſcontent ſay others ; and others ſay of Poiſon, which had been given him by the Procurement of the Court of *Madrid*.

This Prince, for ſome time after he came to *Flanders*, ſeemed to live in a better Correſpondence with Queen *Elizabeth* than any of his Predeceſſors ; that Queen having had no Suſpicion of his having a Grant from the Pope of her Crown ; (and that, ſo far as I can find, without being obliged to marry the Queen of *Scots*, for the corroborating of his Papal Title ;) until ſhe was advertiſed of it, as a thing moſt certain, by that wiſe and great Heroe, *William* Prince of *Orange* ; a moſt auſpicious Name to *England*, and indeed to the *Proteſtant* Religion in general, and the Liberties of *Europe* : And whereas before, that Queen had trimmed betwixt the *Spaniards* and the *Dutch*, and of the two did ſeem to incline moſt to the former ; having, not long before, to gratify the *Spaniards*, forbid the Prince of *Orange*, and all his Conſederates

rates to come into her Kingdom, and writ to the *Dutch* to dispose them to agree to what *Don John* had to offer to them; after this Intelligence, she begun to espouse the *Dutch* Interests; and having set her self to thwart *Don John* in every thing, she writ to the King of *Spain*, to call him out of *Flanders*.

And though I do not believe, that *Ratclif* was sent by her, or by any that were about her, into *Flanders*, to have murdered *Don John*; on which Pretence that Gentleman was put to Death there; yet, considering how vehement and restless an Appetite that Prince had for her Crown, and how he was adorned by all the *English* Papists, by whom his Death was lamented, as the greatest Loss that could have befallen their Cause; if King *Philip*, for his own Security, did dispatch him, after his Secretary, into the next World, she had no cause to be sorry for it. But to return to *Antonio Perez*.

Though the Persons who had stabbed *Escovedo* were neither taken nor known by any of his Relations; yet it was no sooner done, than, according to the saying, *Murder will out*, it was in every Body's Mouth that *Antonio Perez* had been the Author of his Death; and that he had done it for no other Reason but to gratify the fair Princess of *Esboli*, who was known to be angry with *Escovedo*, for some ill Offices he had done her.

with

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with his Master *Don John*, who was believed to be her Gallant; and for his having talked freely of that Princess's Familiarity with *Antonio Perez*: By which Provocations she was so incensed against *Escovedo*, that she one Day told *Antonio Perez*, that nothing less than the Blood of that Rascal, who had the Impudence to reflect so on her Honour, could satisfy her: But having been desired by *Antonio Perez* not to trouble herself any farther about *Escovedo*, but to leave him to the King's Vengeance, who was as angry with him as she was; she was quiet.

But the Man of all others that seemed to resent this Murder the most; was the Secretary *Matthew Vasquez*; who set all his Engines to work, and having made some Discoveries, he communicated them to the King in the Paper following, but under a feigned Name.

' The People's Suspicion of one Secretary's having killed the other, gathers
' Strength; and a Response which it hath
' met with, affirms him to have caused his
' great Friend to be killed who is now in his
' Honour; and that he did it for a Woman:
' And saith yet farther, that when his Wife
' went first to visit the Widow of the Secretary that was murdered, that Widow
' thundred out Curses against the Man who
' had caused her Husband to be stabbed;
S and

‘ and that she did it in such a Manner, that
 ‘ there was great Notice taken of it. I conceive
 ‘ it will be convenient that his Majesty should
 ‘ ask *Vegreete* in secret, what he can say con-
 ‘ cerning that Death, and what his Suspi-
 ‘ cions are, and on what they are grounded;
 ‘ for though he has never said any thing to
 ‘ me, I hear by others that he has talk’d of it.

‘ Wherefore, to give Satisfaction to the
 ‘ Ministers, and to the whole Common-
 ‘ wealth, which is so much scandalized at this
 ‘ Matter; and to divert some ill Whispers of
 ‘ bad Consequence, which fly about; it is
 ‘ expedient that the Truth of this Matter
 ‘ should be narrowly searched after; both
 ‘ by the way of Suspicions, and by all other
 ‘ Ways and Means possible. Your Majesty,
 ‘ will be pleased to return this Paper, which
 ‘ belongs to *Austin Alvaro de Toledo*.

The King having diligently perused this
 Paper, gave it to *Antonio Perez*; and com-
 manded him to carry it to the Marquis *de los*
Velez, to consult with him about the Answer
 he was to return to it; which *Antonio Perez*
 having done, he sent the following Paper to
 the King. ‘ I was last Night with *Velez*, and
 ‘ did communicate *Matthew Vasquez*’s Paper
 ‘ to him, (1.) He is much scandalized with
 ‘ it all; and at that Man’s pressing your Ma-
 ‘ jesty so hard, as if he would squeeze your
 ‘ Breath out of your Body. As to the An-
 ‘ swer,

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‘ fwer, he mentioned feveral, which might
‘ and ought to be given; but, not to tire
‘ your Majesty, he faith, this that followeth
‘ may do very well.

‘ I have with you been informed from
‘ whence this (2.) Cafe has proceeded, but
‘ by a Way that will not allow me to fpeak
‘ of it. (3.) However, I can affure you, that
‘ it is very different from that in your Paper.
‘ (4.) There is not therefore any Regard to
‘ be had to what you fay here; which has
‘ no other Foundation but an extravagant Cu-
‘ riosity, and a very rash Judgment.

On the Margin of this Paper, the King,
after he had carefully perufed it, did write
with his own Hand. (1.) ‘ He has reason
‘ in this, however I believe it may have hap-
‘ pened for the beft, fince they may be un-
‘ deceived by this Answer’. And to *Anto-*
nio Perez’s having added the word *aftonifhing*,
(2.) the King writ, ‘ It is well, and I have
‘ likewise made my Additions’; which are,
(3.) ‘ Though I do much wifh that I had
‘ known it by fome other way, that I might
‘ have chaftized it, (4.) Though I believe he
‘ that did it, had great Caufe for it. Writing
‘ in the Conclusion, If there be any thing in
‘ this that you do not underftand, bring it to
‘ me at Night, and I will explain it to you.

But *Vafquez* not having been convinced
by this Answer, of his Suspitions being alto-
gether

gether groundless; he did underhand persuade *Escovedo's* Widow and eldest Son, to think of prosecuting the Princess of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez*, as the Authors of her Husband's Blood; and of which he said there were strong Presumptions, if not clear Proofs.

Antonio Perez finding the Storm begun to thicken upon him, went to his Country-House, and the Cardinal of *Toledo* with him, to spend some time there; and having had Occasion to write from thence to the King about some publick Affairs, he put the following Expostulation in a Postscript.

‘ Will your Majesty command me to wear
 ‘ a Paper on my Breast confessing that Death?
 ‘ For there I do verily believe it will end,
 ‘ and that I must pay for all at last’. In
 answer to this the King writ, ‘ The bad Hu-
 ‘ mour reigns to Day: I would not have you
 ‘ believe what you say, but the quite con-
 ‘ trary’. And he having afterwards writ a
 second Letter to the King, did put the fol-
 lowing Expostulation to it, ‘ Sir, I am afraid
 ‘ that I shall be smitten by my Enemies under
 ‘ the fifth Rib when I least think of it; and
 ‘ that taking Advantage of your Majesty’s
 ‘ great Mildness and Sufferance in this Mat-
 ‘ ter; they will, before you are aware, have
 ‘ compassed their Ends. I say this, be-
 ‘ cause I know they are restless’. In answer
 to this the King writ as followeth, ‘ I told
 ‘ you

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‘ you formerly that you must be out of
‘ Humour ; for though they do not rest, be-
‘ lieve me, they shall not prevail ; and I do
‘ remember nothing, if I did not tell you
‘ what I said to them.

But to *Antonio Perez’s* great Misfortune,
the Marquis *de los Velez* was at this time
seized with a dangerous Distemper, of which
he died not long after ; and who having re-
tired to his Country-House, which was a
great way from the Court, for the Recovery
of his Health ; as he was in his way Home,
the following Letter was writ by him to *An-
tonio Perez.*

S I R,

‘ Since I had yours at *Ocuna*, I have heard
‘ Nothing of your Health ; neither was
‘ my own, at that time, in such a State as
‘ would allow me to answer you. That
‘ which I have at present, is, by travelling,
‘ something better ; I have a little better Ap-
‘ petite to my Meat, though it is not strong
‘ enough for any Flesh I can meet with in the
‘ *Mancha*. I go on recovering Strength as
‘ fast as I can, and may God increase it : It
‘ is no small Relief to me, that I am got
‘ from Court ; so well do I bear your Busi-
‘ ness, or which is rather my own, being
‘ traversed as it is.

‘ I believe the Affair of the Archbishop of
‘ *Toledo’s* Hat is finished, and I do very
‘ much rejoice at it ; I desire you to con-
‘ gratulate him, for me, and the rest of his
‘ Friends : Neither do I rejoice less at the
‘ Vacancy of *Hernando de Escobar*, with which
‘ I am much delighted. I kiss your Hands
‘ for your Enamelling, which I see I could
‘ not have had done at *Bilbo*, but with great
‘ Difficulty. I travel but slowly, so that I
‘ believe it may be the middle of the next
‘ Week before I shall get Home ; and I am
‘ so much chagrined and wasted, that my
‘ Friends do not know me. I am extreamly
‘ disgusted with all Things, and have no o-
‘ ther Comfort, but what my having with-
‘ drawn my self from that Ill-will which the
‘ Court has taken up against me, affords
‘ me ; and which, believe me, is such, that
‘ no Man of Honour can bear it. And if,
‘ without the King’s Favour, they have
‘ trampled upon all ; will they, now they
‘ have it, spare either Lives or Honours ?
‘ No, Life, and every thing else will be made
‘ to give Way to the Considerations, and to
‘ the infinite Respects, which they will have
‘ for every Determination. Do not wonder
‘ at my Head’s being so full of Speculations ;
‘ for in this long Journey I have mused on
‘ all Affairs, and not without thinking of
‘ that which is out of the Kingdom ; which I
‘ desire

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' desire you to remember, as there shall be
' Occasion: For as Things go at present,
' *Peru* occurs often to my Thoughts; nei-
' ther shall I reckon that to be too remote a
' Banishment.

' I do a second Time entreat you to re-
' member my Concerns, as the Friendship
' I have for you obligeth you; though all
' that I have done for you, is but of little
' Value.

' In fine, in fine, we shall be plucked up
' by the Roots; being one and all of us de-
' ceived, in imagining that we have found the
' Jewel of the Gospel: And our Master at the
' same time laughs at all this, and at us all.

' What I have said, is enough to one that
' knows all Affairs better than I do.

' I do take care of my Health; and by
' Starts do entertain my self with the Anti-
' quities which you gave me at *Pinto*; and
' which, had you known how good they
' are, I do not believe you would have part-
' ed with them. Hereafter, if my Health
' will allow it, I will entertain my self with
' *Perez*. May our Lord preserve your Il-
' lustrious Person, as I desire. From *Inojo-*
' *ses* the 26th of *January* 1579. Your Mer-
' cy's Servant,

El Marquez Adelantado.

This Marquis had, ever since the Death of *Ruy Gomez*, been the Favourite. He is said to have been a Person of the highest Genius, and of the noblest Qualities of any that had ever been in that Post, in *Spain*. This Letter came no sooner to *Antonio Perez's* Hand, than he sent it to the King; and on the Back of it, he writ as followeth.

‘ This Letter was writ to me by the Marquis, as he was on his way Home; I intended to have kept it, to shew it to your Majesty, for what he speaks of *out of the Kingdom*, and of *Peru*: But upon second Thoughts, I do now send it, on Account of what he saith concerning Affairs here at Home, and which I believe is all true; for so it is, that they do hasten the Archbishop away from my House; and are for whipping me about the Streets.

To this the following Answer was returned by the King.

‘ What he saith of *out of the Kingdom*, and of *Peru*; I do not understand: And for the rest, I believe, his Sickness must have helped to chagrin his Temper: I know not how you have been for some Days, not having heard from you. On *Saturday* I shall go to *Madrid*, and will then give such Orders about all things as shall be most convenient; and

‘ and I will take Care that they shall not
‘ whip you about the Streets.

But notwithstanding all these Royal Assurances, *Antonio Perez* having been informed, that though *Vasquez* was known to be still at work, yet he was not at all frowned upon for it at Court ; he writ the following Letter to the King.

‘ **I** Do here remit the President’s Dispatch
‘ concerning *Navar*, to your Majesty ;
‘ your Majesty may believe that my Blood
‘ boiled within me to see how the Matter
‘ goes on ; and which I have often told your
‘ Majesty would, if delayed, cause greater
‘ Inconveniencies. I must therefore supplicate
‘ your Majesty either to come to some
‘ Resolution, or to leave me to my Liberty,
‘ to take my own Satisfaction ; and if there
‘ has not been Cause enough given for such
‘ a Resolution, or for such a Punishment, I
‘ shall believe the Witchcraft : And the rather,
‘ for seeing my Services, though with
‘ weak Talents, yet with great Fidelity and
‘ Loyalty to your Majesty, and with all the
‘ Pledges of Favour which I have had from
‘ your Majesty, born down by my own ill
‘ Fortune, or by the good Luck of that other
‘ who has committed so many Faults, and
‘ who has put so great an Affront on so high
‘ a Lady, and on a Man who has always
‘ studied

‘ studied to serve your Majesty, and has
 ‘ ventured so much as I have done. I add
 ‘ no more lest I should burst.

To this earnest Expostulation, the following Answer was returned by the King. ‘ I
 ‘ do here send you back the President’s Dispatch, which does not seem to require any
 ‘ Haste. I want to know what you mean by
 ‘ *Navar*, you must not forget therefore to acquaint me with it. As to the Satisfaction
 ‘ you speak of, it is in all Respects inconvenient; and you cannot but see how prejudicial it would be, for an hundred thousand
 ‘ Causes: So I doubt not but your Wisdom
 ‘ and Discretion will take care to prevent it,
 ‘ especially considering how ready I am, on
 ‘ my part, to do Justice: To burst will not
 ‘ do well, if there were no other Reason but
 ‘ that it would afford great Pleasure to the
 ‘ Plantiffs: My Strength will not allow me
 ‘ to apply my self to the various Affairs
 ‘ which are, at this time, in that Man’s
 ‘ Hands.

But the Marquis *de los Velez* having died soon after he writ the fore-mentioned Letter, *Antonio Perez* was extremely afflicted; having, by his Death, lost, not only the greatest Friend he had in the World, but the only Witness that he had of *Escovedo*’s having been killed by the King’s Command: And having
 by

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by a Letter laid this his irreparable Loſs, with great Paſſion before the King; the King was pleaſed to write him the following conſolatory Answer.

‘ I am ſo ſtruck with this News, that I know not what I ſay; and the more I think of it, the more it afflicts me: My Loſs, I am ſure, is very great; but yours will not, I hope, be ſo, ſince I will not be wanting to you; and being ſure of this, you may and ought to be of good Courage: And though I know not what I ſay of any thing elſe at this Time, yet what I have here ſaid concerning you I do know, and will never unſay it.

But notwithſtanding all theſe Affurances which the King from time to time gave to *Antonio Perez*, *Vasquez* and his other Enemies obſerving that the King did not ſeem to be diſpleaſed with the Report of the Princeſs of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez* having been the Authors of *Eſcovedo*’s Death; they perſuaded *Eſcovedo*’s Widow and eldeſt Son, to charge them both with it by Name: And which they having done in a Memorial which they delivered to the King; and the King being ſtill willing to have it believed that *Eſcovedo* had been ſtabbed on ſome private Pique, he did promiſe that they ſhould have rigorous Juſtice done on all that ſhould be convicted of having had any Hand in that Murder.

But

‘ studied to serve your Majesty, and has
 ‘ ventured so much as I have done. I add
 ‘ no more lest I should burst.

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 ‘ Haste. I want to know what you mean by
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 ‘ quaint me with it. As to the Satisfaction
 ‘ you speak of, it is in all Respects inconve-
 ‘ nient; and you cannot but see how preju-
 ‘ dicial it would be, for an hundred thousand
 ‘ Causes: So I doubt not but your Wisdom
 ‘ and Discretion will take care to prevent it,
 ‘ especially considering how ready I am, on
 ‘ my part, to do Justice: To burst will not
 ‘ do well, if there were no other Reason but
 ‘ that it would afford great Pleasure to the
 ‘ Plaintiffs: My Strength will not allow me
 ‘ to apply my self to the various Affairs
 ‘ which are, at this time, in that Man’s
 ‘ Hands.

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 by

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by a Letter laid this his irreparable Loss, with great Passion before the King; the King was pleased to write him the following consolatory Answer.

‘ I am so struck with this News, that I know not what I say; and the more I think of it, the more it afflicts me: My Loss, I am sure, is very great; but yours will not, I hope, be so, since I will not be wanting to you; and being sure of this, you may and ought to be of good Courage: And though I know not what I say of any thing else at this Time, yet what I have here said concerning you I do know, and will never unsay it.

But notwithstanding all these Assurances which the King from time to time gave to *Antonio Perez*, *Vasquez* and his other Enemies observing that the King did not seem to be displeased with the Report of the Princess of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez* having been the Authors of *Escovedo*’s Death; they persuaded *Escovedo*’s Widow and eldest Son, to charge them both with it by Name: And which they having done in a Memorial which they delivered to the King; and the King being still willing to have it believed that *Escovedo* had been stabbed on some private Pique, he did promise that they should have rigorous Justice done on all that should be convicted of having had any Hand in that Murder.

But

But the King had no sooner made this Promise, then he sent for *Antonio Perez* to come to him immediately ; and which he having done, and being certain that *Escovedo's* Relations could have no Proof of his having been any ways concerned in his Death, he consented to the King's giving way to the clamorous Petitioners prosecuting of him for it ; but at the same time conjured him to hold so ticklish a Matter so fast in his own Hand, as to be still so far Master of it, as to put a stop to it when it should be found necessary.

The King having remitted the Petitioners Memorial to the President of the Royal Court of *Castile*, did at the same time command *Antonio Perez* to go and acquaint him with the Secret of *Escovedo's* Death ; and to consult with him how, without any immediate Interposition of the Royal Authority, a stop might be put to its being prosecuted ; which *Antonio Perez* having done, the President sent immediately to *Escovedo's* Son to come to him, and who having waited on him, he told him very Gravely, ' That the King had put his, ' and his Mother's Memorial into his Hands ; ' wherein they had charged the Princess of ' *Eboli*, and *Antonio Perez*, with his Father's ' Blood ; and that as he had commanded ' him to do them Justice without Distinction ' of Person, Sex, or Quality, so he did promise him that they should have Justice ' done :

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‘ done : But there is one thing, said the President, I must tell you in Friendship, That considering who the Persons are, and their high Quality and Posts, which you accuse, you had need have strong and clear Proofs of their being Guilty ; otherwise you will bring certain Destruction upon your self, and your Family : And in Confidence I will tell you one thing farther, that upon the Word of a Priest, I know the Princess of *Eboli* to have had no more an Hand in your Father’s Blood, than I had.

Young *Escovedo* was so terrified with what the President had said to him ; that, having thanked him for his good Advice, he promised, that neither he, nor his Mother, nor Brother, should speak or stir any more in the Prosecution of those two great Persons.

The President having thus put a stop to the main Wheels, he sent to Secretary *Vasquez* to come to him, and having carried him into a private Room, said to him, ‘ Secretary *Vasquez*, I hear you do sollicite the King vehemently, to give way to the Princess of *Eboli* and *Antonio Perez* being prosecuted, as the Authors of *Escovedo*’s Death ; I must tell you, that for a Priest, as you are, to do so, having no Relation to *Escovedo*, nor being under no Obligations to him, nor in no Post that requires it of you, does not look well ; besides, I will tell you farther, ‘ that

‘ that I know that *Escovedo* came not by his
 ‘ Death, as you imagine he did.

But this grave Admonition of the President’s was so far from having the same Effect on Secretary *Vasquez*, as that had which he gave to young *Escovedo*; that he believing from what the President had hinted, that *Escovedo*’s Death had a State-secret in its Belly, he was more zealous than before to pry into it, to find it out: And not being able to prevail with *Escovedo*’s Widow, or either of her Sons, to go on with the Prosecution they had begun; he persuaded a more remote Relation to undertake it: And who having undertook it, did, under his Direction, drive it on so furiously, that the King was strangely distracted about the Course he was to take; knowing, that if he should abruptly put a stop to the Prosecution, the World would then conclude, that *Escovedo* had been stabbed by his Order; and fearing, that if he suffered it to go on, it might end in a Detection of the whole Secret.

And into such Straits as these, Princes, though never so great, will often be plunged; if the known Laws of the Land, are not the Rule whereby they square all their Actions.

Antonio Perez, finding the Prosecution, being secretly pushed by the Secretary *Vasquez*, and some other great Persons about the Court, was like to be carried very high against

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gainst him; did upon the King's being strangely irresolute in the Matter, desire Leave to lay down his Offices, and retire; whereby he said, that Envy which gave Life and Motion to this Prosecution, would be extinguished: And in this he appeared to be so immoveable, that the King, who would not hear of parting with him, commanded the Archbishop of *Toledo*, and the Princess of *Eboli*, who he knew had both great Power with him, to persuade him to change his Mind, and to make him a Promise of a Grant of four thousand Ducats yearly; and to offer themselves to be Sureties for its being paid, if he would hold his Offices: Which they having done, and told him, that he was much mistaken if he thought he should be able to weather this Storm sooner if he lost his Office, and the Court, than if he remained in them; he was prevailed with to stay; hoping, that after this he might have more Power to persuade the King to discountenance those Ministers, who did under-hand foment the Prosecution of *Escovedo's* Death, than he had before.

But in this he soon found himself mistaken, for as his quick-sighted Enemies, observing that the Princess of *Eboli* and he were often together, did drive on the Prosecutor more eagerly than they did before; so the King, that he might not bring himself under any Suspicion,

Suspicion, would not be persuaded to do any thing that might discourage them so as to make them give it over. And as to *Vasquez*, the King pretended, that he could neither remove nor disgrace him presently, without doing a great Injury to several Persons who had their Business in his Hands at that time.

The Princess of *Eboli*, finding *Antonio Perez's* Enemies were encouraged by the King's Irresolution to talk openly against her; she writ the following Letter to the King to complain of them; and to demand Satisfaction.

S I R,

‘ **Y**OUR Majesty having commanded
 ‘ the Cardinal of *Toledo* to speak to
 ‘ me concerning what had passed betwixt
 ‘ your Majesty and *Antonio Perez*; and to
 ‘ engage me to persuade him, if it were possible,
 ‘ to change his Mind; I undertook to
 ‘ do it; though it was, I confess, contrary
 ‘ to my Judgment. For an innocent Man,
 ‘ after so many Persecutions, to live without
 ‘ Honour or Rest, is a thing none ought to
 ‘ be content to submit to; neither ought any
 ‘ Person to go about to persuade him to it.
 ‘ But your Majesty’s Service can do all things.
 ‘ In a former Paper I acquainted your
 ‘ Majesty, with *Matthew Vasquez*, and his
 ‘ Complices having said, that whosoever re-
 ‘ sorted

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‘sorted to my House, were sure to lose
‘your Majesty’s Favour, for going thither;
‘and since that, they have had the Impu-
‘dence to say, that *Escovedo* was stabbed on
‘my Account; and that *Antonio Perez* was
‘under so great Obligations to me, that if
‘I desired it of him, he could not refuse to
‘do it.

‘Now the Impudence of such Fellows be-
‘ing risen to such an Height; your Majesty,
‘both as a King, and as a Gentleman, ought
‘so to resent it, as to make them feel the
‘Weight of your Displeasure; which, if your
‘Majesty will not be pleased to do, being
‘willing that my House should lose both the
‘Authority and Estate of my Ancestors; and
‘that the Services of the Prince my Husband
‘should be thus rewarded; I have by this
‘discharged my self with your Majesty, as
‘to the Satisfaction which I owe to what I
‘am.

‘I desire your Majesty to send me back
‘this Letter, wherein I have writ to you as to
‘a Gentleman; and with the Confidence that
‘may be reposed in one that is so; and with
‘the Resentment also, which so great an
‘Affront deserves.

The King being made very uneasy by this
Letter, sent Father *Diego de Chaves*, a Do-
minican Friar, who was his Confessor, to the

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Princess

Princess of *Eboli*, to ask her whether she was able to prove what she had charged *Vasquez* with in her Letter; the Princess answered, *That it was notorious, and that Fame had spread it so that there could be no Want of Witnesses.* And being urged by the Confessor to name however some particular Persons, she replied, *She might name the King, who knew it so well, that he needed not to have called upon her to prove it.* But having afterwards writ to the Cardinal of *Toledo* for his Advice in this Matter, the Cardinal bid her *not be shy to name Witnesses, and to name him for one*; and accordingly, the Princess, the next time the Confessor waited upon her, named that Cardinal, and Friar *Hernando de Castillo*, who was the King's Chaplain, and a famous Preacher, for Witnesses; and to whom the Confessor having repaired, they did satisfy him of the Truth of the Complaint which the Princess had made to the King of *Vasquez*; and of that Secretary's being that Lady's, as well as *Antonio Perez's* known mortal Enemy.

The King therefore in Order to put a stop to this angry Business, which he feared would end in a Discovery of *Escovedo's* having been stabbed by his Order; sent his Confessor again to the Princess, to require her to be reconciled to *Vasquez*, and to make him and *Antonio Perez* Friends. To whom the Princess's Answer was, ' That she had given
the

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the King, though he did not want it, Satisfaction, as to the Justice of her Complaint; and that naturally, Complaints, whether just or unjust, were punished no otherwise, but by the denying of Satisfaction. And to the Reconciliation, she said, that as it was below her to enter into Treaties of Friendship with such a Fellow as *Vasquez*; so neither would the Nature of the Affront he had put upon her, allow of any Treaty about it; so that she could not wonder enough at its being required.

And *Antonio Perez*, when he was spoke to about the Reconciliation, answered, 'That as he was ready to release the King from the Promise he had given him of Satisfaction, and to pardon all Offences, since his Majesty was contented to suffer those which had been committed against himself; so he was willing to forego the Rewards the King had promised him for his Services, if he might be permitted to retire from Court, in his Majesties good Grace; in Testimony of his Fidelity, and of his having served his Majesty well.

Upon these two resolute Answers, the King, without communicating his Intention to any, but to his Confessor, and to the *Conde de Balarrias*, who were not in the Secret of *Escovedo's* Murther, did resolve to have them both arrested, to force them to be reconciled to *Vasquez*.

And accordingly, on the 28th of July 1579, which was above a Year after *Escovedo's* Murther, the Princess of *Eboli*, who had been for some Time the Idol of the Court, was arrested in the Night, and sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Villa de Pinto*; and the King is said to have been so uneasy after he had signed the Warrant for that Princess's Imprisonment, that he went after it was dark *incognito* to St. *Mary's* Church, which fronted her Palace; and staid there, until he saw her brought out a Prisoner: And being returned Home, his Spirits are said to have been in so violent an Agitation, that he walked about his Chamber till Five a Clock in the Morning, without speaking a Word. The same Night *Antonio Perez* was arrested likewise, and was made a Prisoner in *Madrid*, in the House of an *Alcalde de Corte*; which was not so severe a Confinement as that of the Princess's.

The King being sensible that this Princess's great Relations would be much alarmed with the News of her Imprisonment, did the next Day after write to the Duke de *Infantada*, and the Duke de *Medina Sidonia*, who were both her near Kinsmen, to acquaint them with the Cause of her Confinement.

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The King's Letter to the Duke de Infantada.

Duke my Cousin,

‘ **Y**OU must have heard of some Differences, and of there being no good
‘ Understanding betwixt *Antonio Perez* and
‘ *Matthew Vasquez*, two of my Secretaries;
‘ and in which the Princess of *Eboli* having
‘ interposed her Authority, I shewed her
‘ that Respect that was reasonable, both on
‘ the Account of her Relations, and for her
‘ having been the Wife of *Ruy Gomez*, who
‘ did me much Service; and for whom, as
‘ you know very well, I had a very great Favour.
‘ And being desirous to see the Bottom of those Differences, in order to provide a Remedy for them, and to have them
‘ ended with the Secresy that was convenient; I did order my own Confessor, Friar
‘ *Diego de Chaves*, for whom I have a great
‘ Respect, to speak in my Name to the Princess, to learn what her Complaint was of
‘ *Matthew Vasquez*, and on what it was
‘ grounded; and who having done that, and
‘ spoke likewise with the Persons whom she
‘ named as her Witnesses, he discovered that
‘ it had no good Foundation; and so did, in
‘ pursuance of the Commission which I had
‘ given him, do all that he was able to persuade the Princess to put a stop to it, and

' not to suffer it to go any farther ; and for
 ' to give way to *Antonio Perez* and *Matthew*
 ' *Vasquez* being reconciled and made Friends,
 ' as was convenient both for my Service,
 ' and for her self, and them : But finding
 ' that after he had spoke to her several
 ' Times to comply with my most just Desire,
 ' that she set herself to hinder that Reconcili-
 ' liation ; the Manner of her Procedure, and
 ' the Liberty she took therein, did compel
 ' me, for her sake, and for her good, to order
 ' her to be Arrested, and sent last Night a
 ' Prisoner to the Castle of *Villa de Pinto* :
 ' And of this, you being so nearly related to
 ' her, I thought fit to advise you, as was
 ' reasonable ; and that you may understand
 ' that there is nothing I desire so much as her
 ' quiet and good Government ; and the Ad-
 ' vancement of her Family and Sons.

At *Madrid* the 29th of *July* 1579.

Ruy Gomez, was a Native of *Portugal*, he
 had been Page and Gentleman of the Bed-
 chamber to *Philip* when he was Prince ; and
 by that Means had scrved himself so deep in-
 to his Master's Heart, whilst it was young
 and tender ; that no Man ever had that Pow-
 er with *Philip* that he had ; and which,
 though he was much envied for it, he held,
 without any great Strength of Genius, to his
 dying Day.

This

This Friar, *Diego de Chaves*, was firſt, Confefſor to *Don Carlos* Prince of *Spain*; and as he had been placed about him by King *Philip*, ſo he was ſuſpected of having much promoted the Murder of that young Prince, by the Informations which he had given in againſt him to his Father; and of which, it is poſſible, one was, that he found him inclined to turn *Proteſtant*; in which Religion, it was generally believed, his Grandfather *Charles V.*, to whom this Prince was very dear, had died but a few Years before.

There were various Conjectures about the true Cauſe of this Princeſs's Imprifonment: By ſome it was attributed to her being grown ſo insolent, upon having ſo great a Stroke in all publick Councils, that the King could not endure her any longer. But ſhe being a Lady of the rareſt Wit and Beauty in all *Spain*; it was by moſt, attributed to her having rejected the King's ancient Gallantry, with Scorn, and accepted of *Antonio Perez's*; who, it is certain, was much in her Company, and was known to be much given to Women: And for this Affront, it is ſaid, that the King did never forgive either of them; and that if he was not instrumental in raiſing this Suſpicion concerning *Eſcovedo's* Death, yet that he was not ſorry for that Princeſs's having fallen under it, ſince it gave him a Handle to take his Revenge both

on her and her Gallant at once ; and which that Princess had given the King Cause to believe that *Antonio Perez* was, by her having once given him an Hint that she knew of *Escovedo's* having been killed by his Command : For as the King was certain that no Body but *Antonio Perez* could have told her that Secret, so he from thence concluded that there was more than an ordinary Familiarity betwixt them. By others it was attributed to nothing else, but to the King's being willing to confirm People in the Suspicions they had taken up of *Escovedo's* having been murdered upon her Account ; and not by his Order. What became of this Princess after her Imprisonment, I cannot tell, having met with nothing after that concerning her, in any of the *Spanish* Historians that I have seen. Only, that the King, after she was in Prison, (we are not told how long,) did order *Don John de Cuniga*, Commendador-Major of *Castile*, to write to her that if she would promise upon the Word of a *Cavellero*, or Gentleman, (for so it is worded,) never to correspond any more with *Antonio Perez*, that he would set her at Liberty, and receive her into his Favour again : And that though she did promise on the Word of a *Cavellero*, to communicate all Messages she should ever receive from *Antonio Perez*, to the King ; yet because she would not promise

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mise to break off all Correspondence with him, this Treaty was of no Benefit to her. So that I am inclined to think, that this Princess, no more than *Antonio Perez*, was never able to weather this Storm.

And here, upon the *Spaniards* reckoning a Promise upon the Word of a *Cavellero*, or Gentleman, to be the greatest Security that can be given; I cannot but observe, that it is a Demonstration of their reckoning *Honour* to be more powerful, with Persons of Birth, than *Religion* or *Conscience*. And that the Principle of Honour is ingrossed so by the Rank of Gentlemen, that it can neither be found lower than that Rank, nor be raised higher by any other Titles of Honour, no not by that of King. But to return to *Antonio Perez*.

The next Day after he was imprisoned, his Wife was, by the King's Order, visited by the Cardinal of *Toledo*; and was by him assured, that neither her Husband's Life, Honour, or Estate, were in any Danger; and that he had been arrested for no other Reason, but to oblige him to be reconciled to Secretary *Vasquez*.

And as such Visits from Cardinals, are not usual; so this of *Toledo's*, made every Body conclude, that *Antonio Perez* was not under any Disgrace at Court; and in this Conceit People were much confirmed by the Visit he
had

had from the King's Confessor on the fifteenth Day after he was confined, and who having given him the same Assurances which the Cardinal of *Toledo* had before given to *Donna Joanna* his Wife; at parting, he bid him be of good Courage, for his Sickness was not unto Death.

The *Alcalde*, in whose House he was, had Orders likewise from the Court, not to let him lack for any thing, and to suffer his Wife and Children to come to him as often as they would. And having been taken ill at the end of four Months after his Confinement, he was removed to his own House; where he had not been a Week, when *Rodrigo Manuel*, a Captain of the Guards came to him, to require him in the King's Name to be reconciled to Secretary *Vasquez*; which he having promised with the Solemnity of an Oath, and for the future to live in an entire Friendship with him, it was believed the Storm, which *Escovedo's* Death had raised, was blown over, so, that he should have heard no more of it: And accordingly, upon his having entred into that Engagement, his Guards were removed, and he was permitted to go abroad to Church, and to be visited; but was not allowed to visit any Body. And being still continued Secretary of State, but without being permitted to go to the Office, or to wait upon the King; he dispatched all
Affairs

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Affairs in his own House, which was near to the Court.

Under this easy Confinement he continued until the Year 1582, when the King went to *Portugal* to receive the Crown of that Kingdom, upon the Death of his Uncle the Cardinal *Don Henry*; and which ever since *Don Sebastian's* Death, the King had been endeavouring by all Ways and Means to secure to himself; on which Occasion the old Duke of *Alva*, having observed the Marquiss *de los Velez* to be over-joyed, he said to him, My Lord Marquiss, *why all this Joy? For if that should come to pass, where will your Son or mine, or your Brother and mine, find a Place to retire to, if they should fall under the King's Displeasure.* And the Duke after he had bolted out those Words, fearing lest the Marquiss, or *Antonio Perez*, who was likewise present when they were spoke, might report them to his Disadvantage, he went immediately to the King, and having told him what he had said, added, Sir, *If you would have the Thoughts of my Heart concerning Portugal; though no Person can wish the Augmentation of your Grandeur more than I do, I do reckon that it is more for the Benefit of any great King to have a Place of Refuge for his Subjects near to his own Territories, and especially if it be at his Devotion, as much as Portugal is at your Majesty's; than for to be Lord of it.* But this Opinion

Opinion of that fierce Duke, did not hinder him afterwards from taking upon him the Command of that Army which drove *Don Antonio* out of *Portugal*; but with so much Ease, that the House of *Austria* did at that Time acquire *Portugal*, as it had done all its other Territories, not by fighting, but by marrying; according to that ingenious Verse.

Bella gerant alii, Tu felix Austria nube.

After the King had staid near two Years in that Kingdom, *Antonio Perez* growing weary of his Confinement, dispatched one Father *Rengipha* a Jesuit to *Lisbon*, to sollicite the King to restore him to his entire Liberty; the Cause for which he had been at first confined, having been now so long removed.

But though that Jesuit was a faithful and diligent Solicitor, and had the King's Ear very much; he was not able to obtain any thing but fair Promises for his Client: And of which when *Antonio Perez* saw that nothing came, he resolved to send his Wife, who was a Woman of Spirit, and of a good Family, to *Lisbon*, to try if she could engage the Empress, who was there with her Brother, to intercede with the King for him: And having communicated this his Intention to the President of *Castile*, he did not only approve of it, but did encourage that Lady to undertake the Journey.

But

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But the King, before she was got to *Lisbon*, having had Notice of her coming, he dispatched an *Alcalde* to stop her by the way; and having examined her, to send her back to *Castile*.

And the *Alcalde* having met her on the River *Tagus*, betwixt *Aldea Gallega* and *Lisbon*, he handled her so roughly, that being eight Months gone with Child, she miscarried in the Boat, and having been carried back by the *Alcalde* to *Aldea Gallega*, she was in that weak Condition judicially examined by him, concerning her Business in *Portugal*, and the Persons who had advised her to take that Journey: And having carried her Examination to *Lisbon*, and put it into the King's own Hand, the King was so far from thanking him, as he hoped he would, that without once looking into it, or saying a Word to him, he threw it into the Fire and burnt it: And having presently sent for Father *Rengipho*, he commanded him to go immediately to *Aldea Gallega*, and to speak to *Antonio Perez's* Wife, so soon as she was able to travel, to return Home; and to tell her, that upon his Word, both as a King, and as a Gentleman, he would dispatch her Husband's Affair as soon as he returned to *Madrid*.

This kind Message was believed to have been procured by the Empress; who was sensibly touched with what that poor Lady had

had suffered : But so was not the King's Confessor, who was an Inquisitor, who said publickly, that had the King known of the President of *Castile's* having consented to her coming after him to *Lisbon* with her Clamours, before he had named him to the Bishoprick of *Corduba*, that he would never have preferred him to it.

When this kind Message of the King's came to be publickly known, *Antonio Perez's* Enemies, of which they that are in high Posts at Court never want good Store, dreading the Thoughts of having the Princess of *Eboli*, and him, whom they had so highly provoked, come into Favour again ; they told the King, that all his Secretaries were much complained of, and that it was fit therefore, that according to the Custom of former Reigns, they should be visited : And though *Antonio Perez* was the only Person that was aimed at in this Visitation, yet to conceal their particular Spleen against him, they took in all the other Secretaries.

This Court, which is occasionally erected, is called the *Visita*, and in its Methods of Proceeding does very much resemble that of the Inquisition : The Persons that are visited being neither allowed to have a Copy of their Process, nor to know who they are that have informed and witnessed against them ; and who are commonly their greatest Enemies :

mies : And when ever the Visitors have a Mind to ruin a disgraced Minister, they will keep secret Depositions open, until they reckon they have found Matter enough to condemn him upon. Only there is one thing wherein the *Visita* is more just than the Inquisition ; which is, that it acquaints the Parties with the particular Misdemeanours, wherewith they stand charged.

The King, at the Importunity of *Antonio Perez's* Enemies, having granted a Commission for a *Visita* ; *Rodrigo Vasquez*, a Judge, was made President of it, notwithstanding *Antonio Perez* had refused him, as his mortal Enemy, and had offered to make Proof of it : The King's Confessor was likewise one of the Visitors ; and though he knew him likewise to be his Enemy, yet, for fear of displeasing the King, he made no Objection against him.

The *Visita* having met, and given all possible Encouragement to *Antonio Perez's* Enemies to bring in Informations against him, they charged him at last with having been Guilty of many great Misdemeanours in the Execution of his Office ; but the three chief, and on which they laid the greatest Stress, were, *First*, That he had received ten thousand Ducats from the Grand Duke of Florence. *Secondly*, That he had published the King's Secrets. *Thirdly*, That he had both added
and

and left out divers Passages in Letters which had been writ to the King in Cyphers. The first of these Charges was owned, but was denied to be a Misdemeanour; the Sum of ten thousand Ducats, as appeared on the Books of publick Accompts, having been constantly paid to the Crown of *Spain* by the Grand Duke, upon his receiving the Investiture of *Siena*: And upon the same Books it likewise appeared, that so much of that Sum as was due to the King had been paid to *Sebastian Saint Oyo*, who had an Order from the King to receive it; and whose Discharge for it, having been shewed to the King by *Antonio Perez's* Wife, the King commanded her to carry it to his Confessor, who was one of the Visitors; which she having done, the Confessor was so confounded when he saw it, and knew it had been brought to him by the King's Order, that he desired it might be left with him to peruse it at his Leisure; which having been granted, he afterwards denied that he had ever seen any such Discharge; however, the King had seen it, and *St. Oyo* who gave it, was still alive.

But though *Antonio Perez* had thus exposed and triumphed over the Malice of his Visitors, as to this Article; and which in all Probability had been started for no other End, but to raise a Clamour of his having received a Pension from a foreign Prince; yet as to
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the other two he would return no Answer to them, before he had writ to the King, to know whether he would have those Secrets of State laid open, which must be published, if the Visitors insisted on his making his Defence.

But the King not being willing to have that done; sent his Confessor to him to hear his Defence, in private, as to those two Articles. And whereas they had both been gathered out of Letters which he had writ to *Don John* and to *Escovedo*, whilst they were in *Flanders*, and which Letters had been found amongst *Escovedo's* Papers, he first appealed to the King, whether the Letters whereon those Articles had been grounded had not been all perused by him, and approved before they were sent; and to satisfy the Confessor presently, he shewed him the Orders he had, under the King's own Hand, for every thing he had writ in those Letters. The Confessor plainly perceiving by what he had seen, that he could with great Ease vindicate himself at the King's Cost; told him, that if he would make no publick Defence as to those two Articles, he would undertake that no Sentence should be passed upon him by the *Visita*: But though *Antonio Perez* complained of it as a very great Hardship, not to be allowed to make his Defence after the *Visita* had Hand over Head charged him with two such great Misdemeanours; nevertheless,

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theless, to gratify the King, when he was called on to make his Defence, he made a Declaration, that rather than discover the King's Secrets, he would undergo any Punishments the *Visita* should inflict on him. And his Wife having the same Day met the Confessor at St. *Domingo's* Church, he bid her be in no Pain for her Husband, for he did assure her, that the *Visita* would not condemn him in enough to buy a *Corporal*, or Chest for their Vestry; the Cardinal of *Toledo* likewise, when he saw the Articles, did declare openly, that the *Visita* could not condemn him in the Handkerchief he had in his Hand; and another Grandee said, that though he should not defend himself, they could not condemn him in three hundred Reals.

But the King being ready at that time to go to *Arragon*, to hold a Cortes of that Kingdom at *Monfong*; it was apprehended that *Antonio Perez*, whose Ancestors were *Arragonezes*, finding himself so cruelly persecuted, might fly thither, and by his Complaints disturb the King's Business: The *Visita* therefore, though it passed no Sentence, because the Confessor had promised that it should not, did make an Act which was Tantamount; having condemned him by it, to lose all his Offices, to be kept a close Prisoner for two Years, and to pay thirty thousand Crowns to the King. And as this Act was signed only
by

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by a Notary, (for the same Reason, I suppose, that it was not called a Sentence) so when that Notary was asked how he dared to do such an irregular Thing, his Answer was, What would you have me do? I was commanded by the *Visita* to sign it. Of this Act *Antonio Perez* had no Notice, until an *Alcalde* came to his House with a Warrant to carry him Prisoner to the Castle of *Terrevagana*; and having, after he understood the *Alcalde's* Business, entertained him in Discourse, until a Servant did intimate to him, by a private Sign, that the Cardinal of *Toledo* was for his taking Sanctuary in a Church; on pretence of going into the next Room, he slipped out of the Door, and threw himself into the first Church he met with: And when he was there, fearing lest his Enemies might take him from thence by Force, on Pretence that his Crimes being of a publick Nature, had not the Benefit of a Sanctuary; he supplicated the Pope's Nuncio not to suffer the Privileges of holy Church to be violated, as they must be openly if he were taken by Force out of its Sanctuary: Upon which Petition the Nuncio having named some learned Ecclesiasticks, they did by two Reports which they made of it, declare, that nothing was alledged against *Antonio Perez*, that could debar him the Benefit of the Church's Sanctuary. But the Malice of his Enemies

being too violent to be stopped by any Reports, they insisted on his being convicted of Misdemeanours of a publick Nature; and having accordingly dragged him out of the Church, and sent him Prisoner to *Terrevagana*, he was there committed to the keeping of the Licentiate *Tores Deavala*, who was such a Tyger, that he had boasted of having put above a thousand People to the Question upon the Rack. On the twentieth Day after he had been a Prisoner in this Castle, the Act of the *Visita* was first shewed to him; and he was then told that it was upon that Act that he had been made a Prisoner: His Wife and Children, of which some were under ten Years old, were made close Prisoners at the same time; and which was done for no other End, but to compel that Lady to deliver all her Husband's Papers; and particularly those which the Confessor had seen in the King's own Hand, when he took the Prisoner's private Defence: And to oblige her to do this, they used her and her Children so cruelly, that she miscarried in the Prison; and having in that dangerous Condition petitioned to have her Confessor, that she might confess herself to him; the *Conde de Baraias*, who was now President of *Castile*, sent her Word, that That could not be allowed, but that he would send another Priest to her that should confess her if she pleased:

But

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But notwithstanding they did by ill Usage, and by Threats and Promises, labour to bring this Lady to tell them where her Husband's Papers were all lodged, she never did it, before they brought a Letter to her from her Husband, beseeching her, as she loved him, and her Children, to deliver all his Papers to the King's Confessor, who was at that time with the King in *Arragon*: In Obedience to which Order, she sent two Boxes locked and sealed, full of Papers, to *Monfong*, and with them a Letter to the Confessor, in which she writ, that she trusted him with all the *Descargos* of her Husband's Life and Honour; and conjured him therefore to keep them in Safety, for all Times and Necessities; and the Persons by whom they were delivered having called them *Descargos* likewise, the Confessor with some Warmth said, ' Burn all such *Descargos* as these, and let Favours and more Favours be heaped on *Antonio Perez* for his *Descargos* '; and when the Keys of the Boxes were offered to him, he would not take them, but bid them carry them to the King, by whom they were received with a Joy that sufficiently demonstrated how well pleased he was with his having got those Papers into his Hands. But though upon Delivery of the Papers, *Donna Joanna*, and her Children, were presently set at Liberty, her Husband was continued a close

Prisoner, until the King returned from *Arragon*; the Confessor having in the mean while, by a Letter assured *Donna Joanna* that her Husband's Papers should not be shewed to any Person living, and that not a tittle of them should be lost. And so kind did the Confessor appear to be, that when *Donna Joanna* complained to him, when he was returned to *Madrid*, of the barbarous Usage her Husband was still under; he told her, that if they did not give over persecuting of him, he would run about the Streets roaring like a Madman, and having proclaimed all the Secrets and Mysteries of that Business, would restore him all his Papers. But though after that, he was used much worse than he had been before, the Confessor's Gravity was not at all discomposed by it, nor did he ever restore the Papers as he had promised. The King stayed the longer in *Arragon* for his having been met at *Saragoza* by the Duke of *Savoy*, who married the Infanta *Donna Catherina*, the King's youngest Daughter there, and with whom the King went to *Barcelona*, where the new-married Couple embarked for *Italy*.

So soon as the King returned to *Castile*, *Antonio Perez* was not only released out of Prison, but was permitted to live in his own House at *Madrid*; where he was visited publicly by most of the *Grande*s and *Nobles* about the Court; and having soon after desired

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deſired Leave of the King to go abroad in the Holy Week to the Divine Offices, the Confeſſor ſent for a Prieſt who was Tutor to his eldeſt Son, and bid him tell his Patron that he might in a good Hour go to his Divine Offices at our Lady of *Attocha*; and the Prieſt having asked him, What *Rodrigo Vaſquez* and the other Judges and Viſitors would ſay to it, he bid him do what he had commanded him, and not concern himſelf with what others ſaid.

The Empreſs likewise, who had a great Compaſſion for *Donna Joanna*, who was well known to her; commanded the Baron *de Kevenlever*, the Imperial Ambaſſador, to go in her Name to the Cardinal of *Toledo*, and to ask him, Why ſince he had a great Kindneſs for *Antonio Perez*, he did not acquaint him with the King her Brother's favourable Intentions? But all the Answer the Ambaſſador was able to draw from that Cardinal, was, That her Imperial Majeſty, who was the King's own Siſter, might ſpeak of many Things which it was not ſafe for him to mention, who was a Subject: However, that Cardinal having a few Days after ſeen *Antonio Perez's* eldeſt Daughter in a Church, he called her to him, and bid her ſpeak to her Father to provide himſelf a rich Suit of Cloaths, for he intended in a few Days to give him a Viſit, and to go with him all over the Court. And *Rodrigo Vaſquez* ha-

ving been asked by a Person of Quality how *Antonio Perez's* Matters went, did answer, What would you have me say? The King is sometimes in haste, and lets us loose, and of a sudden again he moves slowly and reins us in; for my part I cannot comprehend the Mysteries of the Engagements which there must be between the King and that Man.

But now when all Things looked thus serene, his Enemy's Fears of his coming into Favour again did revive; and having no other way to come at him, but by bringing *Escovedo's* Death upon the Stage, after it had been near twelve Years buried, they persuaded young *Escovedo* to resume the Prosecution of it now that the *Conde de Baraias*, who was known to be no Friend to *Antonio Perez*, was President of *Castile*; and who had been heard to say, that when a King has done a wrong to a Subject, the only Remedy to be thought of was to support it.

So young *Escovedo*, notwithstanding his former Promise, having been prevailed with to revive the Prosecution; he pursued it with that Heat, that he had *Antonio Perez* taken out of his House at *Madrid*, and sent a Prisoner to the Castle of *Pinto*, from whence after a close Confinement of nine Weeks, he was brought back to *Madrid* in order to be tried. But before his Tryal came on, he did by a Letter lay before the King the great Inconveniencies which must needs attend his being

brought

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brought under a rigorous Examination about *Escovedo's* Death; humbly and most earnestly beseeching him, for his own sake more than his, not to suffer that Matter to be carried any farther.

But the King, who from the beginning to the end of this Affair did act like one enchanted, having returned him no Answer; and the Day being set whereon his Examination was to begin, he was strangely distracted, whether he had best confess all, or deny all; being certain, that his Prosecutor, besides some Presumptions which he and his Confederates had been twelve Years a picking up, could not have any Evidence of his having had any Hand in his Father's Death: And having in great Agonies of Mind turned that whole Matter over and over in his Thoughts, he resolved at last to plead not Guilty, and to put the Prosecutor upon his Proofs: The thing that determined him to take this Course, was, that the last Time, though it was twelve Years before, the King had given him any Directions in that Matter, he had expressly forbid him ever to discover that *Escovedo* had been killed by his Order; and so fearing that That by a Confession he might draw the King's heavy Displeasure upon himself, he pleaded not Guilty when he was brought upon his Tryal: And having been allowed ten Days to pre-
pare

pare his Defence in, he writ most passionately to the King, now that he had thought fit to suffer that Matter to be brought to a Crisis, for Directions how to behave himself; fearing there might be Presumptions which would justify their putting him on the Rack: But though there was not a Word to be drawn from the King, the Confessor on this Occasion did write him the two following Letters; to which the King was undoubtedly Privy, though the Confessor did pretend to write them as a Friend, that was so officious as to give Counsel before it was asked.

The King's Confessor's Letter to *Antonio Perez.*

S I R,

Being touched with the great Tribulations you and your Family have been so long under; I considered with my self, whether I ought not, according to the Direction of Charity, to give Advice to one that wants it; though he has not asked it: And did at last resolve to do so; and must therefore tell you, that if in Reality and Truth you have a peremptory Excuse as to this Fact, that being asked about it, you ought plainly to confess it; which will in my Opinion help you out of all your Troubles; this Matter having been, and

is

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' is still the Foundation of them all: And
' then let every one answer for himself.
' God guard you many Years in Health and
' Rest, which you and your Family want so
' much: I do not tell you how much Pain
' this Business has given me: God knows it,
' and sees it; and so does our Lord the
' King.

*From the Royal St. Lawrence,
the 5th of September 1589.*

To this Letter of the Confessor's, the following Answer was presently returned by *Antonio Perez.*

S I R,

' I Think you would do well to consider
' a second Time what you have advised
' me to do in your Letter; and whether
' Conscience will allow one out of his own
' Mouth to condemn himself, and in a weighty
' Cause, when there is not Proof enough against him to justify his having been apprehended; and especially when that cannot be done without doing an Injury to many innocent Persons: And consider likewise, whether it be safe to divulge that which the King has commanded to be concealed. But if at last *Escovedo* must have Satisfaction given him, whether it would not be better to have it done at my Cost, than to the Pre-
' judice

‘ judice of his Majesty, and his Affairs, by
 ‘ the Discovery of his Secrets, and to the In-
 ‘ jury of other innocent Persons: And es-
 ‘ pecially whether after his Majesty having
 ‘ commanded, if not entreated me, never to
 ‘ make any Discovery of his having had any
 ‘ Hand in that Matter, the best way would
 ‘ not be to come to an Agreement with
 ‘ *Escovedo’s* Son.

To this Answer of *Antonio Perez*, the Con-
 fessor replied presently.

S I R,

‘ I Have received yours of the 10th Cur-
 ‘ rent in Answer to mine, and though I
 ‘ have returned to consider of what I did
 ‘ then write, as you charged me to do;
 ‘ yet after having done it, I am still of the
 ‘ same Mind, that there is no way so plain to
 ‘ deliver you out of a close Prison, and out
 ‘ of so many other Troubles as you have
 ‘ suffered, to no visible Purpose, as to declare
 ‘ the Truth of all that passed concerning *Es-*
 ‘ *covedo’s* Death; which is what is asked of
 ‘ you; and to declare likewise by whose Or-
 ‘ der it was procured; but without divulg-
 ‘ ing the Causes why it was ordered: As
 ‘ to which, you are not to alledge any Par-
 ‘ ticulars; nor to give any Sign of them.

‘ And

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‘ And as to your having objected, that it
‘ would be a Load on Conscience, for one
‘ who has a Wife and so many innocent
‘ Children, in so weighty a Cause to con-
‘ demn himself out of his own Mouth; I
‘ Answer, (considering what your Wife has
‘ often told me, and the Papers which she
‘ has shewed me,) what I have advised seems
‘ to be conformable both to Christianity
‘ and to right Reason, being so ordered as I
‘ directed it: For by that means you will
‘ not be Guilty of forswearing your self in
‘ Judgment; or, if you have done it al-
‘ ready, you will not remain in your Sin.
‘ And neither will you, by so doing, con-
‘ demn your own Innocency, nor that of
‘ others: On the contrary, you will mani-
‘ fest it, and save both your self and them.
‘ *Diego Martinez*, who was one of the Exe-
‘ cutioners, having, for not confessing the
‘ Truth, suffered a long and close Imprison-
‘ ment; and divers other Troubles, as you
‘ your self are suffering at this Time: For,
‘ according to the best of my Knowledge
‘ in the Laws, a secular Prince, who hath
‘ such Power over the Lives of his Subjects,
‘ as for a just Cause, and according to the
‘ Forms of Justice, to put them to Death;
‘ may, having Witnesses, punish them with
‘ Death without those Forms: The Orders
‘ and Forms of Justice being, for the most
‘ part,

‘ part, no parts of the Law; or at most
 ‘ they are Things that may be dispensed
 ‘ with. But suppose a King should be un-
 ‘ just in not observing the Forms of Law;
 ‘ yet if one that is his Subject shall at his
 ‘ Command kill one who is his Subject like-
 ‘ wise, he is not Guilty; being bound to be-
 ‘ lieve that his Prince had just Cause to com-
 ‘ mand it to be done; all the Actions of
 ‘ Sovereigns having the Presumption of Law
 ‘ for their being Just: And, where there
 ‘ is no Fault, there can be no Punishment.
 ‘ Now this, I think, makes it plain, that
 ‘ by confessing the Truth you will not con-
 ‘ demn your self, but on the contrary, you
 ‘ will manifest both your own Innocency,
 ‘ and that of your Complices; of which one
 ‘ is now in Prison, and the rest must have
 ‘ fled, and you your self are in the State we
 ‘ see you in.

‘ All which Sufferings would be reme-
 ‘ died, if you would but declare the Truth:
 ‘ And an End being once thus put to this
 ‘ Business, his Majesty would satisfy *Escove-*
 ‘ *do*, who does now lie at him continually,
 ‘ and by so many ways, for to have Justice,
 ‘ that he is not able to excuse the letting
 ‘ him loose upon you: Whereas, if you
 ‘ would but confess the Truth, if after that
 ‘ *Escovedo* should offer to turn himself against
 ‘ his Majesty, he would know how to make
 ‘ him

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him hold his Peace ; and, having baniſhed him the Court, would be thankful to any Perſon, (if he has not declared the Cauſes for which *Eſcovedo* was killed, which, as has been ſaid, muſt not by any means be publiſhed,) that would perſecute him.

Now all that I have here ſaid at large, with what I writ in my former, was writ purely in compaſſion for your great Sufferings ; and not to perſuade you to any thing contrary to the Dictates of your own Mind : Only this, I will ſay, that though my Advice may not be the beſt, yet it is certainly better than that of ſuffering this Matter to go on as it does ; ſince he that is to be your Judge knows the Truth of it, your own Lady having often told it to the Conde of *Baraias*, and who for that Reaſon will be ſatiſfied with the leſs Proof ; and which now the Matter is wholly left to the Law, may in time increaſe, and bring you and your Complices under great Miſeries, or at leaſt keep you long in Priſon, and under other Hardſhips. As to the Method which you propoſe of coming to an Agreement with *Eſcovedo*, I do very much approve of it ; but the King who is angry with him, both for his own, and his Father's Faults, to which you are no Stranger, muſt not at all be concerned in it. If you your ſelf can bring that Agree-
ment

‘ ment about, it will do well in all Respects.
 ‘ May our Lord direct you, as shall be most
 ‘ convenient for his holy Service, and for
 ‘ your Advantage.

From the Royal St. Lawrence.

These Letters of the Confessor's, though they appeared to be very Kind and Tender; yet, as *Antonio Perez* had never found him his Friend, so it is most probable that he designed him no Kindness, by the Advice he gave him in them: But did counsel him to confess the Death, and that he caused it by the King's express Command, for no other End but to vindicate the King; against whom, if he denied it, as he he did afterwards, he believed the Prisoner, having had all his Papers taken from him, would never be able to prove it: For if the King upon *Antonio Perez* having confessed that Death in Judgment, would have taken it upon himself, he might have done that before much more privately; and by having whispered it into *Escovedo's* Ear, might have stopt both his Mouth and his Prosecution. And that this was the Confessor's Design, in this his officious Charity, as he called it, will appear pretty plain, from the Course that was taken with the Prisoner, after he was come to an Agreement with *Escovedo*, and with the Confessor's Approbation.

But

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But here, for Variety, and to give some Relief to a long melancholy Scene ; I shall present the Reader with a Story, and which is told by *Antonio Perez* of his own Knowledge, on Occasion of what the Confessor had said in his second Letter, concerning the Power which Kings have over the Lives of their Subjects ; and which Story I shall here set down in the Relator's own Words.

‘ I was at *Madrid*, (saith the Relator,)
‘ when a certain Proposition came forth condemned by the Inquisition, which had been
‘ affirmed by one, (it is of no Importance
‘ to name him,) in a Sermon preached before the King in *St. Hierom's Chapel*.
‘ The Proposition was, *That Kings have an absolute Power over the Persons and Estates of their Subjects*. For which Doctrine
‘ the Preacher having been taken up by the Inquisition, besides some other Censures that he underwent, he was enjoined to recant it, in the same Church,
‘ and with all the Solemnities of a judicial Act ; and which he did, by reading the following Form of Words in the same Pulpit.

Whereas on such a Day, I did in this Place affirm, that Sovereign Princes have an absolute Power over the Lives and Estates of their Subjects ; I do now retract that Doctrine, as erroneous ; and on the contrary do affirm, that Sovereign Princes have no more Power over their

Subjects, than what is given to them by the Laws of God and Man; and are not to rule their Subjects by their own free and absolute Will.

The Relator goes on, ' I was well acquainted with the Person by whom this Proposition was qualified, and by whom the Form of Words, which was read by the Recanter, was drawn up; and which he did with a very good Will, in order to root up that poisonous Weed, which he saw springing up; and of which, to my Knowledge, he had taken great Notice'. His Name was Doctor Fryar *Hernando de Castilla*; he was Consultor of the Holy Office, and the King's Preacher; and for his great Learning and singular Eloquence was much known and esteemed, not only in *Spain*, but in foreign Parts also, but particularly in *Italy*; and of whom Doctor *Velasco*, a wise Divine, did use to say, that a Viol in the Hand of *Fabricio Dentici*, was not so melodious as the Tongue of Master *Hernando de Castilla*.

Antonio Perez was told by this famous Preacher, That he owed his Name, and all the Esteem he was in, to some ingenious Friends, who at his Request had used to hear him Preach; and who did afterwards tell him freely of all that they judged to be wrong, in the Language, Composition, or Delivery of his Sermons.

But

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But how powerful ſoever his Eloquence was, the King was not ſo charmed with it, as not to be able to baniſh him the Court; for having, amongſt his other conſcientious Freedoms, told the Confefſor, that he had much to answer for, for having given the King, when he was dangerously Sick at *Badajox*, Abſolution, before he had given Satisfaction to *Antonio Perez*, whom he had ſuffered to be ſo much proſecuted, for a thing, which the Confefſor knew he had done by the King's expreſs Command. Neither was this Fryar the only Perſon that laid that Matter home to the Confefſor's Conſcience, he having been told one Day by *Donna Joanna*, upon his having ſaid, *That he could do no more for her Husband than he had done*: Yes, Sir, your Paternity can and ought to do more; for you ought not to give the King Abſolution until he has done my Husband Juſtice. But if here, from the Inquiſitors having thus cenſured the fore-mentioned high Pre-rogative Doctrine, any ſhould imagine the Inquiſitors to be great Friends to the Legal Rights and Liberties of the People; they do very much miſtake them: For it is certain, that they neither are, nor ever were Friends to thoſe Rights: Only not being certain what Princes they may come to have, they do not care that the Prince's Power ſhould be believed to have no Bounds but

what his own Will sets to it ; left at some time or other, the Church, or their Courts, may come to suffer by its being believed to be so boundless : For though they are very willing to have Princes absolute over all their Lay-Subjects, they will not endure to hear that they should be so, no not in Temporals, over the Clergy. But to return.

Antonio Perez being extreamly distracted about the Course he was to take, did at last resolve to treat with *Escovedo* ; and the rather, because the Confessor had approved of that, as in all Respects the best Method that could be taken to put an End to this long Tragedy : and having offered *Escovedo* twenty thousand Ducats if he would let fall the Prosecution of his Father's Death, and engage never to revive it any more, the Bargain was struck up betwixt them : And upon that great Sum's having been paid according to the Agreement, *Antonio Perez* did reckon that he should never hear any more of it ; and that the King, at one time or other, would re-imburse him that Money.

But, to the Amazement of the whole Court, within a Day or two after that Money was paid, this Affair had a new turn given it : For *Rodrigo Vasquez*, dreading nothing so much as *Antonio Perez's* coming into Favour again, told the King, now that *Antonio Perez* had, by giving Satisfaction to

Escovedo,

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Escovedo, put a full stop to the Prosecution, he was of Opinion, that since it was in every Body's Mouth that Secretary *Escovedo* had been killed by his Majesty's Command, that his Majesty, for the Vindication of his own Royal Honour, ought to command *Antonio Perez* to declare in Judgment the Causes for which he had ordered him to have *Escovedo* made away, if he ever did command it; and to require this of him by a Writing under his own Royal Hand, as a thing that was convenient for his Service: To which the King, being resolved to deny that he had ever given any such Order, did consent; and did accordingly put such a Paper into *Rodrigo Vasquez's* Hand, to shew in Judgment to the Prisoner.

But whatsoever it was that moved the King to make this strange Step, both *Rodrigo Vasquez*, and the Confessor did reckon, that whether he declared the Causes or not, that they should gain their Points, which were the Ruin of the Prisoner, and the Vindication of the King's Honour: Reckoning, that if he did declare the Causes, he would not be able to prove them, having no Papers to do it with; and that if he did not declare them, now that the King had thus required him to do it, the World would from thence conclude the King to be Innocent: The Confessor having been heard to say, *That*

the Honour of a King was so Sacred a thing, that it ought to be preferred to the Reputation or Satisfaction of any Subject whatsoever. And as it was universally believed, that it was upon this Principle that the King granted the foresaid Order to Rodrigo Vasquez, so on that Occasion, a certain Person of Quality said to a Friend, That he had often heard of Subjects being in Conspiracies against their Kings, but this was the first Time that he had ever heard of a King's being in a Conspiracy against a Subject.

And when the Cardinal of *Toledo* heard of this Order, it put him into such a Rage, that he went presently to the Confessor, and said to him, ‘ Sir, Either I am a Fool, or this
 ‘ you are upon now is a foolish Business:
 ‘ For if the King commanded *Antonio Perez*
 ‘ to have *Escovedo* made away, and will
 ‘ own that he did it, to what Purpose does
 ‘ he now command him to declare the
 ‘ Causes why it was ordered? Since *Antonio*
 ‘ *Perez* was no Judge, but only a Secretary,
 ‘ or rather the Executioner of the King's Will
 ‘ in that Matter. Besides, at the End of
 ‘ twelve Years, and after you have taken
 ‘ all his Papers from him, and the Persons
 ‘ who could have been his Witnesses, may
 ‘ be all dead; to require him to declare the
 ‘ Causes, I must tell you, is an astonishing
 ‘ Thing. Raise five hundred Persons to
 ‘ Life

‘ Life again, and restore him all his Papers,
‘ without having looked them over and
‘ read them, and then require him to de-
‘ clare those Causes.

With this home Charge, from so great a Prelate, the Confessor was so confounded, that he did not know what to say ; but having recovered his Spirits a little, he answered, ‘ Your illustrious Lordship may be satisfied that all will end well, and that this ‘ Order was granted by the King only to ‘ comply a little with *Rodrigo Vasquez’s* Importunity’. This Cardinal, whose Name was *Gaspar de Quiroga*, was a Man of great Prudence and Dexterity in publick Business, and was likewise so good a Manager of his own private Revenues, that, dying very old, he left an immense Treasure in Money behind him ; all which, he having died without a Will, was divided by the Pope into three equal Parts ; one was applied to pious Uses, the second was given to the King, and the third the Pope took to himself, as that Cardinal’s Heir ; which, I think, he pretends to be to all Clergymen, unless they have purchased a Dispensation from the See of *Rome*, to dispose of the Goods, or of a certain Portion of them, which they shall be possessed of at their Death. The Pope’s Nuncio did likewise, and in his Master’s Name, urge the Confessor to remove the great Scan-

dal which *Antonio Perez's* Affair had so long given to all Christendom, and to the Injury of so many innocent Persons ; requiring that Justice might be no longer offended, by having its Name made use of for private Ends, and to gratify some People's Malice. With which and many more Sollicitations, the Confessor was so offended, that he began to change his Note ; and did send a Friar both to *Antonio Perez*, and to his Lady, to tell them, That they must not any longer have Justice in their Mouths, but must beg for Mercy : And *Donna Joanna* having upon this Message waited on the Confessor, and told him, that they desired nothing but to have Justice done them ; he answered her in a Passion, let but the holy Week be over, and you shall have Justice done you.

The Order which had made all this Noise, having been shewed to the Prisoner in Judgment, he was required by the Judges to yield Obedience to it : And upon having denied to declare the Causes, was condemned by them to the Rack, to oblige him to confess them : *Antonio Perez*, now the Marquis *de los Velez* was dead, having no living Witness, did resolve to endure the Rack, rather than make a Confession ; which before such Judges he knew it would not be easy for him to prove : Or if he should prove it, he knew the King would never pardon him
for

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for it. But though he mounted that great Engine of Inhumanity, with this Resolution, they tortured him so severely when they had him upon it, that not being able to endure the Tortures any longer, he cried out, that if they would take him off the Rack, he would confess all that he knew ; and which having been granted, he made a summary Confession ; and as full, as he thought, with Respect to the King, it was safe for him to make : Inſomuch, that when his Confession was read over by *Rodrigo Vasquez* and *John Gomez*, the latter was heard to ſay, the King himſelf has given the ſame Account of this Matter to ſome Perſons : And in Confirmation of the Truth of all that he had confeſſed concerning the Cauſes of *Eſcovedo's* Death, he appealed to *Hernando de Eſcobar*, Archdeacon of *Alarcon*, who was the Perſon that cyphered and decyphered all the King's Letters at that time. But the whole Town and Country being perſuaded that *Eſcovedo* had been killed by the King's Order, did rore moſt outrageouſly upon *Antonio Perez* having been racked upon that Account ; and which having happened in the time of *Lent*, when People's Tempers are much chagrined by their Mortifications, the Pulpits of *Madrid* did all ring of it ; that in the King's own Chapel not excepted. In which on the fourth Day after, Father *Salinas*, a famous *Franciſcan*

Franciscan Preacher, addrested himself pathetically to the Courtiers in the Words following. ‘ Mortals, what is it that you are
 ‘ all mad and gaping after with open Mouths?
 ‘ What, do not you see the Danger you live
 ‘ in? Do not you see it? Do not you see those
 ‘ who were the other Day on the Pinnacle of
 ‘ Favour, to Day on the Rack, and persecuted cruelly for many Years; and no
 ‘ Body knows why nor wherefore? Gentlemen, I speak to you very freely, that I may
 ‘ both comply with the Obligations of my
 ‘ Office, and may reap a particular Advantage to my self by it, and which will be a
 ‘ very great one; it is that I shall be turned
 ‘ from Court, as some have been before me,
 ‘ for speaking Truth; which, since the Court
 ‘ takes no Pleasure to hear, I do assure you
 ‘ I take no Pleasure in being about the
 ‘ Court.

But *Antonio Perez* after he had made a Confession, finding his Judges so extremely partial, as to make it a new Article against him, that all his Papers had not been delivered to the King’s Confessor as he had said they were; he having now offered by some Papers he had by him still, to prove the Truth of all that he had confessed, if the King should give Occasion for it; he determined, if it were possible, to make his Escape with those Papers into *Arragon*,

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ragon, where the Constitution of the Government was such, that the meanest Subject, let his Complaints be what they will, is heard; and if his Complaints be proved Just, are effectually remedied: And accordingly on the Night of the *Wednesday* in *Passion-Week*, having got out of Goal, he did with great Difficulty, by reason of the Pains which the Rack had left in his Bones, reach *Calatyud*, the first Town in *Arragon*, ten Hours before the Hue and Cry, which, as soon as he was mist, had been sent after him: And having thrown himself into the *Dominican* Monastery, he had not been long there, before an officious Gentleman, hoping to make his Court by it, though he was no Officer of Justice, entered the Monastery, and in the King's Name pretended to arrest him in it, appointing him a certain Cell for his Prison, until Orders came from *Madrid* how he was to be disposed of.

As soon as he was mist, his Lady, and his Children, of which some were carried in Arms, were thrown into the common Goal at *Madrid*, where they were used very cruelly, his Wife being accused of having helped him to make his Escape.

But though the Court was much troubled at his being got into *Arragon*, where they knew his Cause would be sifted both narrowly and publickly; the whole Town rejoiced
so

so much at it, that the King's Fool having observed it, asked the King, *Who this Antonio Perez was, that every Body rejoiced at his having made his Escape? He must certainly, said the Fool, be innocent; and are not you glad of it too?*

The first thing *Antonio Perez* did, after he came to *Calatyud*, was, to write a Letter to the King, and another to the Confessor, to acquaint them with the Reasons of his having retired into that Kingdom; and to engage them, if it were possible, not to suffer the Business of *Escovedo's* Death to be pushed on any farther against him.

Antonio Perez's LETTER to the King.

S I R,

PErceiving how long my Imprisonment, after so many Years Persecution, was likely to continue, by the Rigour of some Ministers; or, if I may say it, without valuing my self as if I could merit so much as I have suffered, their Envy; and that my Cause and Miseries were not like to end, but with my Life; and being by the managery of some Ministers reduced to such a State, as not to be suffered to answer for my self, nor to vindicate my own Honour, or that of my Ancestors and Children; and which, to endeavour, is both

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‘ both a Natural and a Chriſtian Obligati-
‘ on ; I reſolved to do what I have done, and
‘ to retire to this your Maſteſty’s Kingdom,
‘ of which my Father and Anceſtors were
‘ Natives ; and in which your Maſteſty is,
‘ and will be Maſter of me, as much as if I
‘ were in Chains, or under the ſtrongeſt Fet-
‘ ters ; being reſolved to be as Obedient to
‘ your Maſteſty, as the Clay is to the Potter :
‘ And of which I have already given good
‘ Teſtimony by my long ſuffering, upon the
‘ Confidence I always had in your Maſteſty,
‘ and in your great Piety and Clemency ;
‘ and in that Depositum which I have in
‘ your Maſteſty’s Royal Breſt of my Inno-
‘ cency : And in this State I have been con-
‘ tent to leave all my ſmall Services and Fi-
‘ delities, which in another might perhaps
‘ have had Merits different from what they
‘ have had with me. I do therefore moſt
‘ humbly ſupplique your Maſteſty, ſince you
‘ have ſuch ſtrong Proofs of the Truth of
‘ this, to believe the Reſignation which I
‘ do here make to your Maſteſty of my Per-
‘ ſon and Mind ; and the Tender I do make
‘ to your Maſteſty of my Obedience to your
‘ Royal Will in all things, to be ſincere ;
‘ notwithstanding the Paſſion of one or more
‘ Miniſters, who have plotted together to
‘ deſtroy me : And that you will not ſuffer
‘ their Malice to proceed to the Offence of
‘ your

‘ your own great Christianity and Service,
 ‘ and to the Terror of your Subjects.

‘ I do also humbly supplicate your Majesty,
 ‘ out of your great Piety, to command my
 ‘ Wife and Children, who are descended from
 ‘ a Father, and from a Grandfather that have
 ‘ been so faithful and so much approved of,
 ‘ to be released out of Prison; and that you
 ‘ would be pleased to permit us to live to-
 ‘ gether in any Corner which you shall ap-
 ‘ point. In which, not being thought
 ‘ worthy of doing your Majesty any other
 ‘ Service, we may pray to God to grant you
 ‘ a long Life, and whatsoever else Christen-
 ‘ dom stands in need of.

*From St. Peter Martyr of Calatyud,
 the 14th of April 1590.*

Antonio Perez's LETTER to the Confessor.

‘ **B**Y the Letter I have written to his Ma-
 ‘ jesty, your Paternity may see what
 ‘ I can say here; and the many Causes
 ‘ which moved me to do what I have done;
 ‘ but which may be easier read in the Truths
 ‘ that are deposited in your own Christian
 ‘ Heart, of which I do not pretend to make
 ‘ any Use, nor of any thing else besides
 ‘ your Paternity's Conscience and Assistance.
 ‘ I do therefore supplicate your Paternity to
 ‘ cause a Stop to be put to these Rigours;
 ‘ and,

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‘ and, which being done, I shall make no
‘ farther Defence, nor desire any thing more,
‘ but to be permitted to live with my Wife
‘ and Children in a Corner, with some Mark
‘ of his Majesty’s Favour, if it were no more
‘ than a Certificate of my having served his
‘ Majesty faithfully; which is desired by
‘ me for the Sake of my own Honour, and
‘ that of my Ancestors and Posterity. For,
‘ as to my great and long Sufferings, I
‘ shall find a Satisfaction in them all the
‘ Days of my Life, for having undergone them
‘ all for my Fidelity to my King and Lord,
‘ and for his Service.

*Antonio Perez’s LETTER to the Cardinal of
Toledo.*

‘ **I**N this your most Illustrious Lordship
‘ has a Copy of the Letter I have written
‘ to the King from this Place, by which you
‘ may see what I can say here of the Causes
‘ which moved me to do what I have done:
‘ And since what I have suffered cannot but
‘ touch so Christian and Honest an Heart
‘ as yours is, I do supplicate your Illustrious
‘ Lordship to turn to me, and to my Wife
‘ and Children; and in the Post and Au-
‘ thority that you are in, to protect us: That
‘ the Passion of some Ministers, and that
‘ Envy, which might well be tired now it
‘ has

‘ has nothing to feed on but Bones, may not
 ‘ be suffered to proceed any farther; to the
 ‘ Offence of his Majesty’s Christianity, and
 ‘ of his Royal Service, and to the Terror of
 ‘ all Loyal Subjects; seeing, if I may but be
 ‘ permitted to live in a Corner with my
 ‘ Wife and Children, I shall be contented;
 ‘ offering all that I have suffered to God,
 ‘ and praising him for it, and praying to
 ‘ God for his Majesty’. May our Lord, &c.

But before these Letters were got to *Madrid*, an Order was come from thence to carry *Antonio Perez* a Prisoner to *Saragoza*, for having affirmed that he had caused *Escovedo* to be killed at the King’s Command, whereas the King had never commanded him to do any such thing; and for having broken Goal; and for discovering the King’s Secrets, and added to and taken from the Letters which had been written in Cyphers; which were the two Articles he had made no open Defence to, when he was charged with them by the *Visita*. But when it came to be known at *Calatyud* that there was such an Order come from Court, not only the Friars in whose Monastery the Prisoner was, but the whole Town being persuaded of his Innocency, did resolve to hinder its Execution; and, on the Day when he was brought out of the Convent, he had been rescued by the

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the Priests and Students, Had he not ſpoke to them not to offer any Violence to his Guards, ſince they were carrying him to *Saragoza*, where he would be ſure to have a fair publick Tryal, which was all he deſired: And ſo, having thanked them for their good Will, they ſuffered him to be carried off, wiſhing him a good Deliverance, with loud Acclamations; and from *Meula*, in the Way to *Saragoza*, he wrote a ſecond Letter to the King.

Antonio Perez's ſecond LETTER to the King.

‘ **T**HE Obligations I am under to your
‘ Maſteſty’s Service, and my own na-
‘ tural Fidelity and Love for it, do compel
‘ me ſtill to advertiſe your Maſteſty of every
‘ thing that I do judge to be convenient for
‘ it. I have already given you an Account
‘ of my being in this Kingdom, and of my
‘ having come hither, for no other Reaſon,
‘ but to be out of the Reach of the Paſſion of
‘ ſome Miniſters that do perſecute me; but
‘ with that Obedience and entire Reſignati-
‘ on of my ſelf to your Maſteſty’s Will, which
‘ I have always ſhewed. I came hither with
‘ a Reſolution to have retired into a Mona-
‘ ſtery, and to have remained there openly,
‘ until I had given your Maſteſty an Ac-
‘ count of my ſelf, and of my Intentions, with
‘ the Reſpect and Obedience which is due
‘ to
‘ Y

‘ to your Majesty, and to your Royal Ser-
 ‘ vice: And the Justice of this Kingdom,
 ‘ having been ordered to take me from
 ‘ thence, I did not withdraw my self; and so
 ‘ am at this time going a Prisoner to *Saragoza*,
 ‘ in much more Pain for your Royal Service,
 ‘ than for my self: And the Reason why I
 ‘ was willing to have had the Sanctuary of
 ‘ the Church preserved, was not for my
 ‘ own natural Defence, so much as to have
 ‘ found a Remedy for the Indictment which
 ‘ is preferred against me, and which is the
 ‘ Cause of my giving your Majesty this Ad-
 ‘ vertisement. It is said in my Indictment,
 ‘ *That I caused Escovedo to be murdered, and*
 ‘ *made use of Garcia de Arze to kill him, and*
 ‘ *that I broke Goal.* Now, by the Language
 ‘ and Form of this Indictment, I know cer-
 ‘ tainly that your Majesty did neither order
 ‘ it, nor was acquainted with it. Your Ma-
 ‘ jesty may therefore be pleased to consider,
 ‘ whether it will be convenient for your
 ‘ Royal Service to have such Matters as
 ‘ these brought into Judgment; and whe-
 ‘ ther, to prevent it, by my flying to a
 ‘ Church for Sanctuary, would not be a
 ‘ good Expedient: And though by doing so
 ‘ I shall appear as a Delinquent, I will sub-
 ‘ mit to that, as I have done hitherto for
 ‘ your Majesty’s Service: And shall wait
 ‘ your Majesty’s Pleasure, comforting my
 ‘ self

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‘ self with the Thoughts of its being for
‘ your Service, and with Hopes that your
‘ Majesty will consider me, and protect me
‘ with your Clemency; and that you will
‘ be pleased to remember my Fidelity and
‘ Services, as may be expected from your
‘ Majesty’s Grandeur and Christianity. I
‘ return to supplicate your Majesty for my
‘ Wife and Children, that I may be allow-
‘ ed to have their Company’. May our
Lord, &c.

The Particular in this Indictment, from which he concluded that the King had not seen it, was *Garcia de Arze* being named in it, as the principal Person that had been employed in the Death of *Escovedo*; whereas he had no Hand at all in that Death, and the King knew very well he had not: *Martinez*, who is said in the Confessor’s last Letter to have been long in Prison on that Account, was indeed one of that Number; but though he had been cruelly used, he had never confessed it: So that had not the Rack extorted a Confession from *Antonio Perez* himself, it could not have been proved against him.

Antonio Perez's second LETTER to the Confessor.

I omit the first Part of this Letter, for being Word for Word the same with that to the King.

‘ I Was brought a Prisoner to the Goal of
 ‘ the Manifestation, and in which I am
 ‘ at this Time: I am charged with having
 ‘ been the Author of *Escovedo's* Death; and
 ‘ with having made use of *Garcia de Arze* to
 ‘ kill him under a false Pretence of his Ma-
 ‘ jesty's Name; and with having been un-
 ‘ faithful in the Execution of the Office of
 ‘ Secretary; and with having decyphered
 ‘ Letters falsely. Now, both by the Frame
 ‘ and Language of this Indictment, I know
 ‘ that it cannot have been made by his Ma-
 ‘ jesty's Direction, nor with your Know-
 ‘ ledge; but is, to the great Load of some
 ‘ People's Consciences, and to the Injury of
 ‘ many dead and living innocent Persons,
 ‘ only made use of as a Colour for my Im-
 ‘ prisonment. The State this Affair is in
 ‘ at this Time, being the 7th of *May*, is, that
 ‘ I have been already examined, and have
 ‘ denied that I was the Author of *Escovedo's*
 ‘ Death; and that, as to my Fidelity, I could
 ‘ not but lament to see it attacked thus,
 ‘ having

‘ having never been Guilty of any of the
‘ Miſdemeanours I was charged withal;
‘ but had always ſerved my Lord the King
‘ with great Faithfulneſs; as his Maſteſty
‘ knows very well, and is able to give good
‘ Teſtimonies of it. This is a Matter that
‘ your Paternity ought to conſider well, and
‘ whether it can be for his Maſteſty’s Service,
‘ and (for other Conſiderations) convenient,
‘ to have Affairs of this Nature brought in
‘ Judgment.

‘ Your Paternity would therefore do well
‘ to remember the Cauſe that was given for
‘ my firſt Imprifonment eleven Years ago,
‘ and the Variety of Troubles and Miſeries
‘ which I, my Wife, Children, and Eſtate,
‘ have (and without any formed Proceſs)
‘ been ever ſince ſubject to; as alſo what
‘ was done to me by the Viſita, and the Or-
‘ der I had from your Paternity not to defend
‘ my ſelf by producing Letters under the
‘ King’s own Hand: And to remember
‘ likewise, how my Papers and Diſcharges
‘ were put into your Hands; and of which,
‘ in Obedience to your Paternity, and for
‘ Fear of diſpleaſing the King, I have made
‘ no Uſe; and how you writ from *Moncon*
‘ to my Wife, and did promiſe, (to uſe your
‘ own Words,) that not a tittle of them
‘ ſhould be loſt, nor be ſeen by any Body;
‘ and how, notwithstanding that Promiſe,
‘ thoſe

' those my Defences and Discharges, have,
 ' without my being present, been all shewed
 ' to a Minister that is my Enemy : And that
 ' your Paternity did, at several times, and
 ' before divers Persons, say, that whenso-
 ' ever there was Occasion they should all be
 ' restored to me ; and that if they did not
 ' give over persecuting me, that you would
 ' run about the Streets, and rore against
 ' their Injustice. And your Paternity can-
 ' not but remember, that the two last Arti-
 ' cles of the Visita, were in Substance, and in
 ' Words, the very same with those which I
 ' am now charged withal again ; for to make
 ' a Noise, and to load me the more. Your
 ' Paternity must likewise remember, how,
 ' upon my not having, at your Paternity's
 ' Request, defended my self ; and which you
 ' know I could have done with ease ; I was
 ' condemned with great Rigour : And your
 ' Paternity may farther remember, that at
 ' that time, Evidences and good Discharges
 ' were not wanting as to *Escovedo's* Death,
 ' and the Causes of it.

' Your Paternity would do well to re-
 ' member likewise what has passed since
 ' upon my Examination, and upon the In-
 ' dictment which was in *September* last pre-
 ' ferred against me by *Rodrigo Vasquez*, and
 ' in what Form he shewed the Process to
 ' my Lawyers ; and also the Letters which
 ' your

‘ your Paternity writ to me from St. *Law-*
‘ *rence* when things were in that State ;
‘ and my Answer to you, upon your having
‘ adviſed me to confeſs that Death ; which
‘ you ſaid would put an End to all my
‘ Troubles, which had no other Foundati-
‘ on : And how, when I propoſed a Me-
‘ thod, which I thought would be moſt con-
‘ venient for his Maſteſty’s Service, you
‘ were ſatiſfied with it, and did approve of
‘ it ; and how, upon that, a Bargain was
‘ made which coſt me dear : And how, in
‘ your ſecond Letter, after you had adviſed
‘ me to confeſs that Death, you ordered me
‘ not by any Means to publiſh the Cauſe of
‘ it : And how, upon that, *Rodrigo Vaſquez*
‘ did by his Managery bring things about
‘ ſo, that I was to be examined concerning
‘ the Cauſes of that Death, becauſe it was
‘ convenient for his Maſteſty’s Service that
‘ they ſhould be known ; which was a de-
‘ ſperate Council, being much to the Offence
‘ of the Royal Authority, and to the Ter-
‘ ror of all Loyal Subjects : And how, up-
‘ on the Day I was racked, I did ſend your
‘ Paternity a Copy of that your ſecond Let-
‘ ter, by *Gil de Meſa*, to let you ſee how un-
‘ reaſonably I was preſt as to that Matter,
‘ notwithstanding your Paternity, who is
‘ the King’s Confeſſor, did order the con-
‘ trary ; and that you might conſider, whe-
‘ ther,

' ther, after that, I ought to have declared
 ' those Causes upon an Order having been
 ' shewed to me under the King's own Hand
 ' to do it ; considering, that the strict Or-
 ' der, which I had in your second Letter to
 ' the contrary, had not been revoked ; and
 ' which not having been done, whether I
 ' was not in Conscience, and in Fidelity,
 ' and in Reason, bound not to divulge those
 ' Secrets, and thereby to give Proof of a
 ' Loyal Subject and Servant. *For, saith St.*
 ' *Raphael, It is a good thing to conceal the Se-*
 ' *cret of a King.* All this your Paternity
 ' ought, with your great Prudence and
 ' Christianity to consider ; and whether it
 ' can be convenient to have such Matters
 ' brought upon the publick Stage : As also
 ' all the Obligations you are under, and by
 ' so many ways, both in Conscience, and
 ' for the sake of the Post you are in, to take
 ' care of my Defence ; and, being now un-
 ' der so strict an Examination, to let me
 ' have Directions how to answer, as shall
 ' be most convenient for his Majesty's Ser-
 ' vice ; which, by the Love and Fidelity
 ' that I have for his Majesty, is rooted in me
 ' so deeply, that I am prepared to take any
 ' Course whereby that will be most advan-
 ' ced : And whether it would not be a good
 ' Expedient, (not to force me, having such
 ' strong Evidences, to defend my self,) to
 ' have

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‘ have my Cause closed, and my Person acquitted, upon the things I had been charged with not being proved : By which Sentence my Honour having received Satisfaction, though I might expect something more, I shall postpone all things else to his Majesty’s Service, with the Comfort of my having left my further Satisfaction in his Majesty’s Royal Hand and Christianity : But if this Course should not be approved of, whether it would not be convenient that I should be permitted to take Sanctuary in a Church. And though I am sensible, that, for so doing, I shall be looked on as a Delinquent ; yet, for the same Reason that I have born that Imputation so long, I will be content to submit to it for the future.

‘ Your Paternity must not delay your Answer to this : For since in these Tribunals, as I am told, all Processes must be made Publick, if a Remedy is not applied presently, it will come too late ; and your Paternity may be sensible, that my not having been believed hitherto, has been a great Disservice to his Majesty : God forgive him who is to blame for so great a Scandal and Inconveniency not having been removed ; for, if upon the Agreements being made, the ordinary way in such Causes had been taken, all that I
‘ have

' have here spoken of needed not to have
 ' been revived. And I do further suppli-
 ' cate your Paternity, not to give way to a
 ' certain Minister being concerned in any
 ' Judgment relating to my unhappy Pledges,
 ' my Wife and innocent Children; nor in
 ' any thing that belongs to me, since you
 ' know him to be my Enemy. And I do
 ' also supplicate your Paternity, now that
 ' I am ready to pay such an entire Obedience
 ' to his Majesty's Will, and with so plain an
 ' Intention, (that so I may get out of the
 ' reach of the Passion of that Minister, and
 ' to find some Rest after so many Storms and
 ' Tempests,) that you will not suffer such
 ' Rigours to proceed any farther; but that
 ' you will do me so Christian and Pious an
 ' Office, as to obtain leave for me to live
 ' with my Wife and Children any where
 ' in a Corner, until his Majesty may think
 ' me worthy of being employed again;
 ' whose Service I do prefer to all things of
 ' this World. Now this being the Truth,
 ' whatsoever is contrary to it are the Devi-
 ' ces of Malice or Envy; and by which In-
 ' conveniencies have been heaped upon In-
 ' conveniencies, to the Offence of God, and
 ' of his Majesty's Service, and to the Scan-
 ' dal of all Nations.

From Saragoza, May the 8th 1590.

But

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But the Prisoner finding no Answer was to be drawn from the King, or from his Confessor, by any thing that he could write to them ; he determined to send a Person of Authority to Court, to lay the whole Matter before the King in its true Colours ; and to hear what he would say to it : And having pitched on the Prior of *Gotor*, who was a Man of great Learning and Dexterity in Business, he first shewed him, but under the Confidence that is to be reposed in a Priest, all the Papers which he had by him concerning the Business of *Escovedo's* Death ; (and which Papers, when he was first Arrested, had been lodged by a Servant, in a Place, which neither his Wife, nor any Body else, besides himself, knew any thing of ;) and concerning all the other Matters he was charged withal. And having satisfied the Prior, that he had the King's Order, and under his own Hand, for every thing that he had done, he gave him particular Instructions how to manage the whole Business he did intrust him with : With which Instructions, being very Large, I shall not trouble the *English* Reader ; the Substance of them being to be met with in the foregoing Part of this Story ; for, though the Readers of some Nations can bear with long Repetitions, *English* Readers cannot, let their Matter be never so considerable.

By

By this Prior the Prisoner sent a Letter to the King, and another to the Confessor, and a third to the Cardinal of *Toledo*.

Antonio Perez's LETTER to the King.

S I R,

‘ **B**Y two Letters I have acquainted
 ‘ your Majesty with the Cause of my
 ‘ having left *Castile*, and retired into this
 ‘ Kingdom; and have also advertised your
 ‘ Majesty’s Confessor of several Matters,
 ‘ with which I doubt not, but, according to
 ‘ his Office, he has acquainted your Ma-
 ‘ jesty; and particularly, with the Tryal
 ‘ being driven on so fast, that in a short
 ‘ time I shall be under a Necessity of pro-
 ‘ ducing all my Discharges: My own Ho-
 ‘ nour, and that of my Ancestors and Poste-
 ‘ rity being embarked in this Cause. But
 ‘ being still willing to give your Majesty
 ‘ some convenient Advertisements, to pre-
 ‘ vent, if it were possible, my being brought
 ‘ to that; and which being of such a Na-
 ‘ ture, that I did not care to trust them in
 ‘ Writing; I have ordered them, for your
 ‘ Majesty’s better Information, to be de-
 ‘ livered to your Majesty by Word of
 ‘ Mouth. And having to that end desired
 ‘ the Conde of *Morata*, not only on the Ac-
 ‘ count of his Quality, and the high Esteem

‘ he

he is in in this Kingdom, but alſo on Account of that great Friendſhip which has continued ſo long betwixt his Anceſtors and mine, to help me to a Perſon of known Conſcience and Prudence for to employ in this Affair; he recommended to me the Father Prior of *Gotor*, and who under the Secreſy of a Prieſt goes particularly inſtructed, having with his own Eyes ſeen many of the Pledges which I have for my Diſcharge, and which were found among the Papers and other Things that were by Chance conveighed out of my Houſe by my Servants, and lodged in a ſafe Place when my Goods were ſeized on by an Order of Juſtice; and how full thoſe Papers are of great Confidences, and Secrets relating not only to this Affair, but to ſeveral others of Importance; and to ſeveral of your Maſteſty's moſt eminent Subjects. I do therefore ſuppllicate your Maſteſty, to be pleaſed to hear him, as to all thoſe Matters which are of ſo great Importance to your Maſteſty's Service; and the Affairs, which have, in great Confidence, paſſed through my Hands: Whereby your Maſteſty will be ſatiſfied, that my having ſo often, and for ſo long a time adviſed, that another Courſe ſhould have been taken in this Caſe, proceeded not from want of Evidence of my Innocency; for, if I had

no

' no other, I have your Majesty for a Judge
 ' and Witness of that; but from my un-
 ' willingness to have the Secrets and My-
 ' steries, which are involved in this Case,
 ' made Publick. And though they who ad-
 ' vised your Majesty, to have all that passed
 ' concerning *Escovedo's* Death declared, and
 ' which your Majesty's Confessor did by
 ' two Letters urge me to confess, might do
 ' it with a good Intention, or on [some pri-
 ' vate Account; I know not, whether he
 ' that advised the having the Causes which
 ' moved your Majesty to order that Death
 ' declared, and averred in Judgment, had
 ' the same good Intention: However, this
 ' I am sure of, that when I proposed the put-
 ' ting of a Stop to the Prosecution by com-
 ' ing to an Agreement with *Escovedo*, that
 ' your Majesty's Confessor did approve of
 ' it, as the best Expedient; and I cannot
 ' but think that so sudden a Change of so
 ' great a Resolution, must have flowed from
 ' a particular Passion in him who advised
 ' the having the Causes of that Death de-
 ' clared in Judgment; hoping, by that means,
 ' it is like, to give new Delays to my Justice,
 ' and to the putting of an End to my
 ' Troubles. And, that having got all my
 ' Papers from me, and fished out of my
 ' Wife the Confidence which had passed
 ' betwixt your Majesty, and my self, he did
 ' hope

hope my Juſtice would be choaked for want of *Deſcargos* ; a certain Miniſter having both ſaid and writ to your Majeſty, that my Buſineſs ſhould be done for me by Managery. I do therefore a ſecond time ſupplique your Majeſty, by that Love and Fidelity wherewith I have always ſerved you, to order all theſe Things to be conſidered by People that are impartial ; and to conſider whether it can be convenient to have ſuch Papers of your Majeſty's, and ſuch Letters of your Confeſſor's, and that Variety of Judgments and Ways which has been uſed in this Cauſe, and about my Perſon, brought into Judgment ; that ſo a Remdy may no longer be delayed, the Day of my Tryal being ſo near at Hand ; and at which, ſince the Honour of ſo many innocent Perſons will be concerned, I cannot without violating the Laws both of God and Nature, forbear to make my Defence. I do therefore again ſupplique your Majeſty, by whom you are, and by what concerns your Royal Authority, to be pleaſed, with your great Prudence, to take Care not to be impoſed on by evil Council, under a Pretence of my Perſon ; ſuch chargeable Methods, and of ſo great Scandal and Diſhonour, not being neceſſary to the effecting of a thing that is ſo ſafe and certain ; your Majeſty's
Will

' Will and Commands, being, as I have of-
 ' ten said, the strongest Chains and Fetters
 ' that I can wear : And that, whilst you
 ' shall not think fit to employ me in your
 ' Service, you would be pleased to allow
 ' me to live in any Corner in this your
 ' Kingdom, which your Majesty shall ap-
 ' point ; and that my Wife and Children
 ' may be permitted to live with me, that
 ' we may rest together a little after so
 ' much tossing, and so many Storms ;
 ' and therein your Majesty will do a Piety
 ' worthy of your great Christianity ; and
 ' which will be acceptable in the Eyes of
 ' God and the World. May God preserve
 ' your Majesty's Royal Person, and give
 ' your Majesty as long a Life as it is necessa-
 ' ry for Christendom you should have.

From Saragoza the 10th of June 1590.

Antonio Perez's LETTER to the Confessor.

' **H**AVING had no Answer from your Pa-
 ' ternity to the two Letters I have
 ' writ to you, now that the Day of my Tri-
 ' al draws near ; I did resolve to perform
 ' this last Office with his Majesty and your
 ' Paternity ; that no Proof may be wanting
 ' of my Fidelity. And that your Paternity
 ' may be sure to know what I have writ to
 ' his Majesty, I do here send you a Copy of
 ' it ;

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‘ it ; by which, and by what the Father
‘ Prior *de Gotor* will lay before you, your
‘ Paternity will see many Truths which have
‘ not hitherto been believed : Which, as I
‘ shall not repeat here, so neither will I tire
‘ your Paternity by supplicating you to con-
‘ sider them well, since the thing it self will
‘ let you know how convenient it is for
‘ God’s Service, and for his Majesty’s, and
‘ for your Paternity’s own particular Au-
‘ thority, that they should be well consider-
‘ ed by you’. Your most Reverend Person’s,
‘ &c.

From Savagoza the 10th of June 1590.

*Antonio Perez’s LETTER to the Cardinal of
Toledo.*

Most Illustrious Lord,

‘ **M**Y Fidelity and Affection for his
‘ Majesty’s Service is so great, that
‘ there is no Proof of it, let it be never so
‘ difficult, which I am not willing to give.
‘ But though I have, since I came into this
‘ Kingdom, writ twice to his Majesty, and
‘ to his Confessor, to advertise them of what
‘ I judged to be most convenient ; yet, since
‘ they seem not to take any Care about a
‘ Matter of so high Importance ; and it will
‘ not be long before my Cause will be final-
‘ ly determined, when I shall be bound

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‘ both

' both by the Laws of God and Man to
 ' defend my self, in a Cause wherein my
 ' own Honour, and that of my Ancestors
 ' and Posterity is so deeply engaged; I was
 ' willing therefore to perform this last Of-
 ' fice with his Majesty and his Confessor, of
 ' sending the Father Prior of *Gotor* to them,
 ' as your most Illustrious Lordship will un-
 ' derstand by him, and by the inclosed Copy
 ' of the Letter which I have writ to the
 ' King. I do therefore supplicate your
 ' most Illustrious Lordship to hear him with
 ' that Favour, and good Will, which you
 ' have always shewed towards me, and all
 ' my Concerns; and though that alone would
 ' be Reason enough for my troubling you
 ' with this Account, yet the high Post your
 ' most Illustrious Lordship is in, gives me
 ' a stronger Reason for the doing of it;
 ' considering the great Importance of the
 ' Matter, and how deeply God's Service,
 ' and that of his Majesty, and the Authori-
 ' ty of many eminent Subjects, are involved
 ' in it'. May our Lord, &c.

From Saragoza the 10th of June 1590.

Besides these three Letters, the Prior car-
 ried one to the Father Prior of our Lady of
Atocha; and to whom, being *Antonio Perez's*
 great Friend, and a Person of eminent Wif-
 dom and Dexterity in Business, the Prior

was

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was to apply himſelf, and to be governed by him in his whole Conduct: And he was ſtrictly charged not to be put off by the Confefſor, who was a Man of Trick, from inſiſting on having an Audience of the King in Perſon, to ſpread the whole Matter before him, and to hear what he would ſay to it.

The Prior being come to Court thus inſtructed, did, in three long Audiences which he had of the King, firſt by Word of Mouth inform him of the whole Buſineſs; and did afterwards ſhew him the Copies of all the Diſcharges which *Antonio Perez* had ready to produce; and did, on the Word of a Prieſt affirm, that he had ſeen the Originals of them all, written with his Maſteſty's own Hand: All which Originals, he ſaid, the Priſoner would be obliged to produce, and which would all be read in open Court, in the *Manifeſtation*, before Multitudes of People, if he were brought to a Tryal; unleſs it were in order to be acquitted, without making any Defence, upon ſufficient Proof not having been brought in againſt him: All which, though the King did hear with great Attention, and did peruſe all the Papers very diligently; and did alſo much commend the Prior for his prudent Conduct; which was more than the Confefſor did, by whom the Prior was at firſt received

very coldly, and was afterwards roughly treated and dismissed by him ; yet all that the King had heard and seen was so far from being of any Advantage to the Prisoner, that, on the contrary, the King apprehending from what he had seen, that the Prisoner, if he were tried in the *Manifestation*, would be acquitted ; he writ to *Micer Baptista*, one of the Judges in that Court, to know how he thought it would go with him ; and having had Word sent him by that Judge, who had seen the Prisoner's Discharges before the King's Letter came to his Hand, that if he were tried in their Court, he would certainly be absolved : The King, upon that Information, determined not to have him tried in it ; but to let fall, or, as the *Arragonefe* Phrase is, to separate himself from his Cause in that Court ; and to carry it into the *Enquesta*, where he had more Power, and where Matters are transacted with great Secrecy.

And accordingly, a few Days before the Prisoner's Tryal was to have come on, the Attorney-General did, in the King's Name, in Form of Law, declare, *That his Majesty did desist from his Prosecution of Antonio Perez ; and did let his Cause, which was depending in that Court against him, fall : But so as to reserve to himself a Right of reviving it when he pleased, in any other Court : Declar-*
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ing at the same Time, *That no Prince had ever been so much offended, and disserved by a Subject, as he had been by Antonio Perez; and as to the Discharges which Antonio Perez pretended to have, that he could invalidate them all with Ease, were he not restrained from doing it, by his Regard for some Persons of eminent Quality that were concerned in them.*

But the King and his Cause were not long separated, for on the fifth Day after the Separation, they were together again in the Court of *Enquesta*, with an Addition of two new Articles; and which had been added to the former Indictment, for no other Reason, but that it should not appear to be exactly the same with that the King had let fall in the *Manifestation*.

And that the Reader may the better understand what it was that induced the King to remove this Cause, from the *Manifestation* to the *Enquesta*, it may not be improper here to give some Account, of the different Constitutions of those two Courts.

The Court of *Manifestation*, is the supreme, and the oldest standing Court in *Aragon*; having been erected in the beginning of that Government, for to guard those Rights and Liberties which the *Arragoneses* had reserved to themselves, when they did at first put themselves under a Monarchy. Its chief Judge is the *Justiza* of *Aragon*,
Z 3 who

who is the standing Guardian of the Peoples Rights and Liberties, and to whom seventeen are joined, who are called the *Lugar-tenents* or *Vice-Guards*, and from whose Sentence there lies no Appeal to any other Court, except the *Cortez* or Parliament. Neither can a Subject that is in the Prison of the *Manifestation*, though he has thrown himself into it, as they often do when they are aggrieved by the Crown, be taken from thence, by the King, or by any other Court; until the Cause for which he was a Prisoner in it, is ended.

The Court of *Enquesta*, only that it is a standing Court, is the same with the *Vifita* in *Castile*; and has no Jurisdiction over any Person but the King's own immediate Ministers and Servants; it was erected long after the *Manifestation*, upon the King's having complained in a *Cortez*, of his Authority being so limited by the Constitution of the Government, that he had not Power to punish any of his own immediate Servants, though they offended him never so much: And it is said, that the *Cortez* was willing to grant the King an absolute Power over his immediate Ministers and Servants, on purpose to prevent the *Grandees* growing fond of Court-Offices; since they could not enjoy them, without being in a worse Condition, as to the Security of their Lives, Liberties,
and

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and Estates, than the meanest private Subject in the Kingdom.

And as the King's Power in the Court of *Enquesta* is absolute, so its Method of Proceeding is summary and secret; and for that Reason the People are seldom ever satisfied with the Justice of any of its Sentences, when they come to be executed: And they had very lately been much scandalized at this Court's having hanged *Micer Garcez*, who was an Advocate and a Privy-Councillor, in his Gown before his own Door, in half an Hour after he had been called by the Viceroy to the Privy-Council, as he used to be.

The People were therefore extreamly enraged when they heard of *Antonio Perez's* Cause, which they expected to have seen ended in a few Days by the *Manifestation*, being thus removed by the King into the close and arbitrary Court of the *Enquesta*: And if before, they did not much doubt of *Escovedo's* having been killed by the King's Command; upon the King's having made this Step, they concluded it was certainly so; and that the King, knowing the Prisoner would have been able to have proved it in the *Manifestation*, had, for that, and for no other Reason, dropt his Cause in that Court; and revived it again in the *Enquesta*; where his Power was absolute, and the Method

of Proceeding was Secret : It having never been known before that a Prisoner had been removed from the *Manifestation* to the *Enquesta*, or to any other Court, though the Inquisition had several Times attempted to have done it.

The *Enquesta* having however resolved to try the Prisoner, an Indictment was preferred in it against him ; and to which, that it might not appear to be the same that was in the *Manifestation*, they added two new odd Articles.

The one was, That the Prisoner was observed to rejoice when any bad News for *Spain* came from *France*, and to be sorry when the News was otherwise : And the other was, That he designed to make his Escape into *Holland*, *Zealand*, or *England*.

The Prisoner having been brought before the *Enquesta*, told them, that he should make no Answer, nor offer any Discharges, as to any of the Misdemeanours he had been charged with in the *Manifestation* ; having done that already in the supream Court, which only could judge of them : And as to the two new Articles, he said he believed it was the first Time that any Civil Court had ever brought People's inward Thoughts and Intentions, which are known to God only, into Judgment against them. He conjured them therefore to consider how
great

great a Wound they had given to the King's Honour, by having brought his Cause into their Court, out of that of the *Manifestation*; and since they did not pretend to have any Jurisdiction over him, but as he had been the King's Secretary and Servant, (since he had already been judged and condemned by the *Visita in Castile*, as to all the Misdemeanours they now charged him with in that Capacity,) to consider whether the Laws of any Nation did allow the same Cause to be brought twice into Judgment: In fine, he told them, that if, in Contradiction to the known Laws of the Land, they should force him to make a new Defence, that he would produce Papers which would lay open greater Secrets and Confidences, than any he had yet shewed: And to satisfy them that he was able to do it, he offered to shew those Papers in Private to any Person that the King should name; and which he said his great Zeal for his Majesty's Honour made him wish might be done.

And upon the *Enquesta's* not having taken any Notice of this Proposition, he did, by a Person of Quality, offer to shew all those Papers to the Archbishop of *Saragoza*, who was Brother to the Marquis of *Almanera*, his fiercest Prosecutor; if he would promise, after he had seen them, with the Confidence that may be reposed in a Priest, to communicate

nicate his Thoughts of them to the King : But that Archbishop knowing that the King would not thank him for it, desired to be excused, for not meddling in a Business which had made so great a Noise in the World.

But though the Prisoner's Pleas were all over-ruled by the *Enquesta*, and which was likewise strongly inclined to have used its secret and summary Methods with him ; yet it durst not do it, for fear of the People ; who being possessed, that what had been done to the *Manifestation* in this Case, was the greatest Blow that had ever been given to their Liberties, they would certainly have torn the *Enquesta* all to Pieces, had they offered the least Violence to the Prisoner, or had they gone on with a Cause, which had been brought before them after so illegal a Manner.

Wherefore, since there was no Hopes of having the Prisoner condemned in the *Manifestation*, and the *Enquesta* was so terrified with the Threats of the Populace, that they durst not meddle with him any more ; some other Court was to be found, that should undertake to destroy the Prisoner, or to keep him so confined, that it should not be possible for him to make his Escape, to tell Tales in foreign Countries, which was the Thing the Court dreaded.

And

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And to what Court, besides the holy Inquisition, could they have Recourse in this desperate Case? In which, if they once had the Prisoner, they knew they should both have him safe, and should hear no more of those Papers and Discharges he had so lately threatned the King withal.

And that the Inquisition, if it were once brought into *Arragon*, would certainly overturn all the Rights and Privileges of the People, was a thing the *Arragoneses* were so sensible of; that, after that Court was settled in all the other *Spanish* Kingdoms, they would not suffer it to be erected in *Arragon*, though they were urged to it by *Ferdinand* the Catholick, whom they loved so well, that they scarce knew how to deny him any thing; and who, had he not been the unhappy Founder of the new modelled Court of the Inquisition, would have been *Spain's* greatest Benefactor.

For, in the Year 1484, the four Estates of the Realm, for there are so many in *Arragon*, having on this Occasion assembled themselves together, in the House of the Deputation in *Saragoza*, they dispatched the Prior of the *Austin Monks* of that City, and one Doctor *a Luna* to the King, to satisfy him, that the Inquisition could not be introduced into *Arragon* without subverting the People's ancient and undoubted Rights
and

and Privileges ; one of which was, that in all Cases, all Witnesses were to deliver their Evidences in open Court ; and another was, that no Subject could be deprived of his Estate, nor of any Part of it, but by the Sentence of the *Justiza*, or of the *Cortez* of the whole Kingdom ; whereas, in the Court of the Inquisition, neither the Names nor the Testimonies of Witnesses were ever told to the Prisoners, and whose Estates were confiscated upon the single Sentence of that Court. But the King, not being satisfied with this Answer, did send some Inquisitors to a small City in *Arragon* called *Tervil*, where he did hope they might have been permitted to have erected their Tribunal ; but as small as that City was, the People rose and drove the Inquisitors with all their Officers out of their Gates ; and the Inquisitors, upon that Expulsion, having been ordered by the King to repair to an obscure Village called *Celdas*, they did set up their Court there, but without exercising any Jurisdiction.

But the Inquisitors being impatient in this Obscurity, three of them adventured to go to *Saragoza*, and to try if they could dispose the People of that City to allow them a greater Theatre ; which at that Time those Inquisitors were so far from being able to effect, that Father *Epila*, who was the chief

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of them, was ſtabbed in a Church ſaying his Prayers; and who having died two Days after of his Wounds, immediately after his Death, if his Brethren the Inquiſitors may be believed, he began to work Miracles in Favour of the Inquiſition.

And as the People do many times loſe their Rights, as well as King's their Prerogatives, by ſeeking to maintain them by violent and illegal Methods; ſo the murdering of that ſingle Inquiſitor, was the great means of introducing the Inquiſition into *Saragoza*, where the People were diſpoſed to receive it by the Miracles which that ſlain Inquiſitor was confidently reported to have wrought, in Conjunction with our Lady of *Guadalupe*; who, though ſhe is called by the *Roman* Church the Mother of Mercy, is ſaid by the Inquiſitors to have wrought threeſcore Miracles, for no other end, but to diſpoſe the *Spaniards* to receive and reverence their merciless Court.

The King alſo to give the Inquiſitors the more Authority, beſtowed his own Palace in *Saragoza* upon them, for their Court, and Priſon; it is called the *Aljaferia*, and was the Palace of the *Mooriſh* Kings. And though the Inquiſition was admitted into *Arragon* with ſeveral Limitations to the Power which it exerciſed in other Places; the Inquiſitors doubted not but that in a ſhort Time they ſhould

should be able, by confident Reports of Miracles, and some other such Methods, to shake off those Fetters. But to return.

In order to lodge *Antonio Perez* in the close and secure Prisons of the Inquisition, one of his own Servants and three or four of the Prisoners in the *Manifestation*, were bribed by the Marquis of *Almanera* to inform the Inquisitors, that they had heard *Antonio Perez* say, *That were he but once at Liberty, he would stay no longer in Spain, but would go either into Holland, England, or Zealand, which were all three Heretical Countries.* And it having been given out, on purpose to make him odious to the People, that he was a most sad Witch, being in a solemn Compact with the Devil, in their Information they were ordered to be sure to charge him home with that Crime; which alone would be sufficient to justify the fetching him out of a Secular Prison, where the Devil hath so much Power, (and by whom the Prisoner had been actually helped out of the Secular Prison at *Madrid*,) to lodge him in the safe Prison of the Holy Office; where, if the Devil had any Power, it was so small, that it had never been known, that with all his Force he had ever been able to take the Person of one single Witch out of those Prisons.

As

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As to his Servant that was corrupted, he indeed had been by when his Master was told by some of his Friends, that though he should be acquitted by the *Manifestation*, he could not, now the King was so angry with him, think of living within any of the *Spanish* Territories; neither could he be safe in *France*, where the King had so great a Party; nor in *Italy*, where he had so much Power: But at the same time, that Servant had never heard his Master say a Word of any such Design. And as to the rest of the Informers, as they were all utter Strangers to him, so, if he had designed any such thing, it is not probable that he would have told them of it. And as to his Witchcraft, that was a Crime, which is proved in no other Court so easily as it is in the Inquisition; where the Rack, upon a Fame, commonly prevails with a Witch to turn his own Accuser.

However, upon their Informations, the Inquisitors, though they were not ignorant of the great Ferment the whole City was put into by the *Enquesta's* having pretended to meddle with one that was a Prisoner in the *Manifestation*; did boldly, on the 24th of May 1590, send their Families to fetch *Antonio Perez* before them, out of the *Manifestation*; and which the Familiars having done, the whole City as soon as they heard of it, was

was all in an Uproar, * and several Thousands of the Populace being got together in a Body, did run towards the *Aljaferia*, which had been the Palace of the *Moorish* Kings, but is now the Inquisition, shouting all the Way they went, *Let Liberty live, Let Antonio Perez live*; and having, when they came to the Gates of the Inquisition, threatned to set Fire to them, if *Antonio Perez* were not presently brought out; the Viceroy, having got some of the Nobles that were most popular about him, went to them in his Coach, to persuade them to disperse, assuring them, *That the Prisoner should have no Wrong done him, having been brought to the Holy-Office only to be examined concerning some Things relating to the Faith.*

But when the Viceroy perceived that the People were not to be charmed by the Words Holy-Office and Faith; and that nothing but the bringing forth the Prisoner would satisfy them; and seeing Straw and other combustible Matter coming from all Parts, to have set Fire to the Inquisition, he leaped out of his Coach, and having run into the Thickest of the Crowd, cried out, *Friends, I am not here among you as a Viceroy, but as Bishop of Tervel, and one of your selves; and if you will but be quiet, I will go presently into the Inquisition my self, and fetch out the Prisoner to you; neither will I leave him until*
I have,

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I have, according to your Desire, lodged him in safety in the Manifestation. And accordingly the Viceroy and the Condes *D' Aranda* and *Morata*, who were both very Popular, having gone into the Inquisition, they desired the Inquisitors, for their own and the common Safety, to deliver the Prisoner to them presently; and which the Inquisitors having done with trembling Hearts, the Viceroy took him by the Hand, and led him down to his Coach, but the People having cried out that they would have him ride on Horseback, that they might all see him, he was mounted presently, and was huzza'd all the Way to the *Manifestation*, with *Live Liberty, Live Antonio Perez.*

And whereas the Marquiss of *Almanera*, who had been seen to go and come from the Inquisition that Morning, was known to be the Prisoner's fiercest Persecutor, and who it was said, had undertaken with a Troop of Horse to have carried him back to *Castile*; the Populace before they dispersed, were resolved to have their Revenge on that Lord: And having in a great Rage invested his House, they had burnt it down to the Ground, and him in it, had not the *Justiza* of *Arragon* come, and prevented it, by arresting that Marquiss, and carrying him a Prisoner to the *Manifestation*: But though that Marquiss and his House were both saved

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from being burnt by this Diligence of the *Justiza*, his Life was not saved by it : The Populace as soon as they saw the Marquis, having cried out, *Let the Traytor to his Country, and to its Laws and Liberty die* ; they did thump and pelt him so unmercifully all the Way he went, that he died a few Days after in the Prison of the *Manifestation*, of the Bruises and Wounds which they had given him.

The Governour of *Saragoza* likewise, for having appeared very zealous against the Prisoner, had all the Goods and Furniture of his House broke and torn to Pieces ; and that they might not be thought to have been led to his House by their Covetousness, they that were within threw all his Money and Plate out of the Windows into the Street, lamenting that they had not met with the Governour to have made a publick Example of him. And to have satisfied the Inquisitors if it had been possible, that they were in the wrong, it was declared by thirteen of the most eminent Lawyers in the Kingdom, who had been called together to give their Opinion, that by the fundamental Law of *Arragon*, no Prisoner, whilst he had a Cause depending in the *Manifestation*, could be taken from thence, by the King, or by any Court.

Antonio

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Antonio Perez, after the Uproar was over, having been told that some of the Marquis *de Almanera's* Servants had been lately several Times with one *Navarro de Cellas*, and one *John de Luna*, and a certain Leather-Currier; who were all three Prisoners in the *Manifestation*; he concluded that they must have been the Persons that had informed against him in the Inquisition; and, being resolved to find it out, he ordered his Procurators to give a Memorial in his behalf, to *Galician Cerdan*, who was *Calmedina*, or Lord-Major of the City, supplicating him to take an Information *ad futuram rei memoriam*, concerning a Plot and Subornation of Witnesses against him, and that the three fore-named Persons might be all examined about that Subornation: And who having been all brought under Examination by the Lord-Major, *Navarro de las Cellas* deposed upon Oath, ' That the Goaler and some of
' the Marquis *de Almanera's* Servants, had,
' by a Bribe, and with Promises and Threats,
' solicited him to inform against *Antonio*
' *Perez* in the Inquisition; and that they
' had withal brought a Note to him from
' one *Molina* an Inquisitor, to animate him
' to it: And in that Note an Information
' to which they urged him to set his
' Hand; and which was, that he had heard
' *Antonio Perez* say, that if he were once at

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' Liberty,

‘ Liberty, he would flee into *Holland*, *Zea-*
 ‘ *land*, or *England*: And that whereas he
 ‘ had been persuaded to set his Hand to the
 ‘ said Information, he did now for the Dis-
 ‘ charge of his Conscience, retract and un-
 ‘ say the said Information; and did declare
 ‘ upon Oath, that he had never heard *Anto-*
 ‘ *nio Perez* speak any such Words, nor was he
 ‘ ever once in his Company neither did he
 ‘ know any thing of his being a Witch.

‘ And he did farther depose upon Oath,
 ‘ That before that Subornation, he was
 ‘ offered by the same Persons, both his Par-
 ‘ don and his Liberty, upon the Gaol’s ha-
 ‘ ving been broken one Night, if he would
 ‘ swear that *Antonio Perez* had set them to
 ‘ break it; and would kill *John Francisco*
 ‘ *Majorini*. The first he refused to do, but
 ‘ undertook the second; and when *Majorini*
 ‘ was assaulted by him, it was with an In-
 ‘ tention to have killed him.

This *Majorini* was a *Genouese*, who had
 been thrown into Prison for having helped
Antonio Perez to make his Escape from *Ma-*
drid, and who had come into *Arragon* with
 him.

The other two Informers did likewise de-
 clare upon Oath, that they had been suborned
 by the same Persons to send the same In-
 formation into the Inquisition, and that they
 had

had neither of them exchanged one Word with *Antonio Perez*.

But for this Examination, the Lord-Major, after the *Castilian* Army was in *Saragoza*, was taken up by the Inquisition, and condemned to be a Prisoner six Years in *Oran*, and was with his Posterity made incapable of ever bearing any Office.

Cellas and *Luna* were taken up by the Inquisition at the same Time, and having been brought out in an Act of the Faith, they were condemned to be whipped through the Streets until they had received two hundred Stripes, and to the Gallies for six Years; so unpardonable a thing it is to irritate that merciless and implacable Court, by Truth, if it reflects on its Proceedings. But this, though it was the most Tragical, was not the first Clash the *Manifestation* had with the Inquisition, which where ever it is, is inroaching daily on the Rights of the People, and on those of the Bishops.

The Conde d' *Aranda*, Father to the fore-mentioned Conde, having had Notice that some Informations had been given into the Inquisition against him; did, to prevent his being taken up by that Court, put himself into the *Manifestation*; and by which, whilst his Cause was depending in it, and which depended as long as he lived, he was protected against the Inquisition, which

was very zealous to have had him in its Prison.

And after that, when *Don Bernardo de Castro* was brought out of the Inquisition, and delivered to the secular Arm to be burnt, for being an Heretick ; his Relations, to save his Life, went and manifested him, as the Phrase is : But it having been judged by the *Manifestation*, that since he had been judged and condemned by the Inquisition, that he could not manifest afterwards, he was left to the secular Arm, as a Prisoner delivered to them by the Inquisition ; and so was burnt as an Heretick.

One *Antonio Gomir* having likewise, to prevent his being taken up by the Inquisition, thrown himself into the Prison of the *Manifestation* ; upon the Inquisition's having demanded him, it was declared, that until his Cause was ended in the *Manifestation*, he could not be molested by that or by any other Court ; and the Inquisitors, having upon that declared the Judge excommunicated that had delivered that Sentence, the Cause was carried to *Rome*, where the *Manifestation* did spend above five thousand Ducats in the Assertion of this Right ; and the Judge that was excommunicated, happening to die before the Controversy was ended, upon the Inquisitors not suffering him to have Christian Burial, the *Manifestation*

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festation ordered his Body to be embalmed, and having at last had the Better of the Inquisition, the Excommunication was taken off, and the Body was buried in great State and Triumph.

But the Inquisition, to their great Mortification, having been thus baffled by the *Manifestation* at Rome, waited for an Opportunity to revive this Dispute again: And reckoning that this Case of *Antonio Perez* did afford them as good a one as they could have wished for, the King being so zealous to have him taken out of the *Manifestation*, that they were sure of the Royal Assistance, they resolved to venture the imbroiling of the whole Kingdom, as they did with a Witness before they had done with this Business, rather than lose so favourable an Opportunity. Neither was the Inquisition at this Time angry only with the *Manifestation*, but with the *Cortex* of the whole Kingdom likewise, for having in the Year 1585, remonstrated to the King against the Inroachments made by the Inquisition on the Rights of the Subject: Which Storm was diverted by the King, who was by Inclination, as well as Interest a great Friend to that Court; by proposing as an Expedient, that both Parties should name a certain Number of Deputies, who should meet together and settle the Bounds of their several

Jurisdctions: And in Case those Deputies did not come to an Agreement in six Months, after that it should be lawful for the Kingdom to have Recourse to the Pope for Relief.

But after six Months were expired without any thing having been done, the Envoys were named by the Deputies of the Kingdom to go to *Rome*, but never went; for as there was no *Cortex* then sitting, so the Court having underhand discouraged it, all they could, that Embassy was laid aside, and never resumed again.

The Kingdom and the Inquisition being at this Time on these Terms; the latter, now that *Antonio Perez's* Affairs had united the King to them closer than he ever was before, resolved with the Royal Assistance, to have *Antonio Perez* brought back to their Prisons again, and to make that a standing President against the *Manifestation*: And in Order to the effecting of that Design, they got it under the Hands of thirteen obscure mercenary Lawyers, that their Court had Power to take any Prisoner out of the *Manifestation* that was accused of Heresy; and having had two thousand disciplined Soldiers quartered in *Saragoza*, they published an Edict of Excommunication against all that had been anywise concerned in the Insult which was made on the Holy-Office,

on

on the 24th of *May*. But the ſame Day that this Ediſt of Excommunication was publiſhed; a Declaration was ſet forth by the Deputies of the Kingdom, commanding the Subjects not to regard that Excommunication, which, for being contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, and the Papal Cenſures by which thoſe Laws were guarded, was of no Force; one of which Papal Cenſures, was an Excommunication denounced againſt all that ſhould violate or conſent to the violating of any of the eſta-bliſhed Rights of the People of *Arragon*.

But the Inquiſitors, though they ſaw the People were not at all intimidated by their Excommunication, having got all on their Side who were anywiſe under the Influences of the Court, determined to purſue their Point; and the 20th Day of *Auguſt* was fixed by them for the Execution of their Deſign: But when that Day was come, it was for ſome ſecret Reaſon adjourned to the 24th of *September*; by which Time things were ſo diſpoſed by the Court, and by the Inquiſitors, that they did not expect to have met with Oppoſition; moſt of the Magiſtrates, ſince their laſt Declaration, having been ſo managed by the Court, as to agree to *Antonio Perez's* being ſent back to the Priſons of the Inquiſition again, to pleaſe the King. But when the People, to alienate them from

Antonio

Antonio Perez, were told that it was by Witchcraft that *Antonio Perez* had drawn them to take his Part so violently; they answered, that what they had done was not for *Antonio Perez's* sake, though they believed he was much wronged; but to preserve the Authority of the Court of the *Manifestation*, which was the Bulwark of all their Rights and Liberties; and that they had not therefore when they fetched him from the Inquisition, set him at Liberty, but had carried him back to the *Manifestation*, to have his Tryal there according to the Laws of the Land. To be the more secure, the Governour, the Night before, placed Guards in every Street, and planted himself with 800 Foot and a Troop of Horse, in the Market Place, which is close to the *Manifestation*; and to strike a Terror into the People, the Soldiers did nothing all Night but fire their Muskets.

In the Morning, though it was one of the most tempestuous that had been in the Memory of Man, the Viceroy, a Lugartenente, and a Deputy, all in their Formalities, did attend the Familiars, the Secretary, and the Goaler of the Inquisition to the Market Place; and who were likewise attended by the Duke de *Villa Hermosa*, and several Condes and other Nobles: And the Lugartenente and the Deputy, having with a strong Guard
gone

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gone with the Officers of the Inquisition into the Hall of the *Manifestation*, the Lugartenente commanded the Goaler to bring *Antonio Perez* and *Don Francisco Majorini* to him; which the Goaler having done, the Lugartenente took *Antonio Perez* by the Hand, and delivered him to the Officers of the Inquisition, saying, *The Lords Inquisitors have by their Letter demanded this Prisoner, whom, suspending the Manifestation, I do here deliver up to you.* And having done the same to *Majorini*, *Antonio Perez* asked him, *What was become of the Rights of the Manifestation?* The Lugartenente answered, *That has been considered, and all that could be has been offered in your Name, and in your Defence:* The Prisoners were both then put in Fetters, but as they were carrying them out of the Hall to have put them into two Coaches which waited at the Gate for them, the People, who notwithstanding all the Guards, and the bad Weather, were in vast Multitudes about the *Manifestation*, cried out, *Liberty, Liberty*; and having not only cut the Harness of the two Coaches, but killed all the Mules that were in them; without having any Head, they fell upon the Guards which attended the Coaches, and killed some of them, and dispersed the rest. And *Gil de Mesa* having, whilst they were about that, come up to them with
twelve

twelve Lackeys, and some Men armed with Muskets, he led them to the Market Place; where the Soldiers having fired, and killed and wounded several of them, they did not give them time to charge again, but fell upon them on all Sides with that Fury, that they were glad to throw down their Arms; and having mixed themselves among the People, did, to save their Lives, cry out, *Liberty, Liberty*, louder than any of them; and the Governour, and the Nobles and Officers that were with him, having fled into the Stable of an Inn that was near the Market Place, the People pursued them, and finding the Door of the Inn shut, they commanded those that were within to open it to them presently, but they instead of doing that, having fired at them, and shot three of them dead upon the Place, they set fire to the House; but the Governour and his Companions having fled out at a back Door, they did either flee to the Houses of some Men whom they knew to be Popular, or did mingle themselves with the Crowd, and cry out *Liberty*, and by that means most of them did save their Lives. So that about Noon, *Liberty* was cried much Louder than it was in the Morning; and so Loud by none, as by those who had been employed to destroy it.

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From the Inn out of which they had ſmoked the Governour, the People went to the *Manifeſtation*, and commanded the Goaler to bring *Antonio Perez* out to them, threatening to kill the Officers of the Inquiſition and their Attendants that were there: The *Lugartenente* upon that went with his Hat in his Hand to *Antonio Perez*, and beſeeching him to ſhew himſelf to the People, and to intercede with them for their Lives; and *Antonio Perez* having looked fullen, and made no Answer, they did all ſuppliate him for God's ſake to do it; and he having told them that it was Time enough after they had taken off his Fetters, his Fetters were preſently knocked off by the *Lugartenente's* Order: *Antonio Perez* walked then to the Window, and having looked out, and bowed low to the People, ſuch a Shout of Joy was raiſed as had never been heard in *Saragoza* before. The People then called to him to come down to them, for they could not be ſatisfied to ſee him a Priſoner any longer: The *Lugartenente* and Officers of the Inquiſition, dreading that the People would have broke in upon them, deſired him to make haſte and go down to them; which he having refuſed to do, unleſs they would diſcharge him by a judicial Act, they all ſlunk away and hid themſelves: However, at laſt he was prevailed with to go down,
where

where the Turn-key stood ready and opened the Door to him : The People, when they had him among them, repeated their former joyful Acclamations; and having carried him upon their Shoulders through the Market-place, and some of the Streets, to receive the Blessings of the People, and which he met every where, they lodged him at last in the House of *Don Diego Eredia*; who by his Popularity had that Day saved the Lives of some of the Nobles, who had fled to his House as to a Sanctuary.

And the People then remembering that *Majorini* was likewise to have been carried from the *Manifestation* to the Inquisition, went back to the *Manifestation*, and having demanded *Majorini*, he was presently brought out to them, and set at Liberty.

There were near an hundred Persons killed on both sides in this Commotion, and a great many more wounded; and among the Slain there was found a *Lugartenente*, and a Deputy of the Kingdom.

In the Evening *Antonio Perez* took Horse, and with *Gil de Mesa*, and another Friend, and two Footmen, went publickly out of *Saragoza*; being attended a Quarter of a League by a vast Multitude of People; who, having been heartily thanked by him, did all at parting with a loud Shout wish him a good Voyage: He rode nine Leagues
that

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that Night, and having then diſmiſſed his Friend and his Servants, he retired with *Gil de Meſa* to ſome high Mountains, with an Intention to have abſconded among them until he ſaw how this Commotion would end: But after he had been there three Days, and in great Diſtreſs for want of Water, which his Servants had forgot to bring; he had Word brought him that the Governour was abroad with ſome Soldiers, and as was ſuppoſed, in queſt of him.

But whiſt he was conſidering how he might eſcape falling into the Governour's Hands, a Letter came to him from his great Friend *Don Martin de la Nuca*, to invite him to return to *Saragoza*; where he promiſed he ſhould be in ſafety in his Houſe, until he had tried whether he could make his Peace firſt with the Inquiſitors, and afterwards with the King; who, he ſuppoſed, would grant him any thing that he would deſire, rather than have him fly into *Bearn*.

And *Antonio Perez* having an entire Confidence in the Friendſhip and Honour of that Gentleman, and apprehending that at preſent he could be no where ſo ſafe as in *Saragoza*, he did reſolve to go back; and, having ſent *Don Martin* Word that he was coming, he was met by him in the Night without the Gates, and was conducted by him to his Houſe, where he remained till within two Days

Days before the *Castilian* Army entered into *Saragoza*. But in the mean while *Don Martin* did enter into a Treaty with the Inquisitors, and who, though they appeared to be well disposed to come to an Accommodation with *Antonio Perez*, yet, after some Conferences, *Don Martin* did plainly discover, that nothing was farther from their Thoughts than any thing of an Accommodation; and that they had treated with him, and had appeared so well disposed, for no other End but to fish out of him where *Antonio Perez* was, and by giving him Hopes that Matters might be yet accommodated, to keep him from flying into *Bearn*: And the thing that made this managery manifest beyond Contradiction, was a Letter of *Moreion*, who was the Inquisitor that had treated with *Don Martin*, to one of the Ministers at Court, which was intercepted; wherein that Inquisitor, after having given Notice of the *Arragoneses* being ready every where to take up Arms, and named some Nobles and others who promoted it, and others who were to have Commands in the Army when it was brought together; he advised the sending of a *Castilian* Army forthwith into *Arragon*, before the *Arragoneses* had armed themselves; and who he said were much like the *Portugueses*, but had less Strength, fewer Arms, and less Artillery, and

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and so might be easier subdued: And added, that since *Antonio Perez*, as he was informed by one that was very intimate with him, had such a tender Love for his Wife and Children, that he had often said, *I do very ill, not to deliver my self up to any Court, rather than let such a Wife and such Children as mine are, suffer so much*; he did therefore advise, to have them streightned as much as it was possible: And having mentioned the Charge he was at to procure Intelligence, he subjoined, *The Archbishoprick of Toledo would be but a small Reward for the Service he had done the King.*

The People of *Arragon* having had Intelligence that a considerable *Castilian* Army was drawing together upon their Frontiers, and which was to be commanded by *Don Alonso de Vargas*; they called upon the Deputies of the Kingdom and the Nobles, to require the *Justiza* to put the Kingdom in a Posture of Defence, and to advise with the Learned in the Law what they might and ought to do, in Case they were invaded by a foreign Army coming to destroy all their Rights and Liberties: And which the Deputies and Nobles having done, the *Justiza* called all the Judges together to have their Opinion in the Case; and who having met, did declare, that by the second *Feuro*, or Law *De Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arragonum*,

gonum, it was lawful for the Subjects, by Force of Arms, to oppose any Foreign Army that should come into *Arragon*, though the King himself, or the Prince his eldest Son, were at the Head of it: And that this Law had the Pope's Approbation and Confirmation, and Papal Censures annexed to it, to secure it from being broken. And it having been thereupon decreed, that in Case a *Castilian* Army did offer to enter into *Arragon*, that the *Justiza* should, with all the Force he could draw together, go out in Person against it; and that a Messenger should be sent by him to *Don Alonso de Vargas*, who was an *Arragones*e, to forbid him upon Pain of Death to come into his Native Country with any Foreign Army; the *Justiza* promised to cause that Decree to be put in Execution, and did accordingly issue forth Commissions for the raising of an Army; one of which Commissions, and which was given by the *Justiza* to *Antonio Perez's* great Friend, who was a near Kinsman of his own, and of his own Name, I shall here insert at Length, since it contains the Ground whereon the *Arragoneses* proceeded in this Insurrection.

We

We Don John de Nuca, de Perellos of His Majesty's Council, and Juſtiza of Arragon; Don Friar Auſtin Navarro, Abbot of our Lady de la Piedra; Don John de Luria Lord of Purroy; Hierom de Oro, Luys Navarro, and John de Marcuello, Deputies of the Kingdom of Arragon; to you Senor Martin de la Nuca, Health and good Will.

Whereas there has been an Application made to us with a grievous Complaint, ſaying, that *Don Alonſo de Vargas* is entred, or is ready to enter this Kingdom with an Army of Foreigners, and with an Intention to damnify this City of *Saragoza*, and the People of it, and of this whole Kingdom, contrary to the Laws and Liberties of the ſame; and that therefore in Obedience to the ſecond Law *De Generalibus Privilegiis Regni Arragonum*, we ought to convocate and aſſemble, ſo many of the People of the ſaid Kingdom, as ſhall be thought neceſſary for to reſiſt and repel out of the Kingdom the ſaid armed Force of *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, and that Army of Foreigners which he brings with him; and we having taken Advice about what the Law requires; after mature Deliberation and Council on the ſecond Law *De Generalibus*

‘ *libus Privilegiis*, did offer our selves ready
 ‘ and prepared to make the said Convocati-
 ‘ on: And accordingly, upon the Army of
 ‘ *Don Alonso de Vargas* being so great, we
 ‘ have called together a great Number of the
 ‘ People of this Kingdom.

‘ And whereas there will want Officers
 ‘ and Persons to govern and command the
 ‘ said People, and to teach them what they
 ‘ are to do; confiding much in the Industry
 ‘ and Fidelity of you the said Senor *Don*
 ‘ *Martin de la Nuca*; we do by the Tenour
 ‘ of these Presents, name and create you a
 ‘ *Maestre de Campo* of all those Men of Arms
 ‘ which shall come down from the City *Huesca*,
 ‘ and the Mountains of *Jacca*; and of their
 ‘ Vassals, and of those of the said City, and
 ‘ of the five Towns; and of *Barbastro*, and
 ‘ *Monzon* and *Foya de Huesca*; to train them,
 ‘ and to command and appoint them what
 ‘ they are to do; giving to you, as we do
 ‘ give, the whole Power compleatly which
 ‘ the *Maestres de Campo* have, and are ac-
 ‘ customed to have in other Kingdoms: And
 ‘ commanding the said People, to hold, name,
 ‘ obey, and repute you, their *Maestre de*
 ‘ *Campo*.

Dated in the City of Saragoza the
 4th of November 1591.

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<i>El Albad de Piedra</i>	}	<i>El Juſtiza</i>	}	<i>Don Juan de Luna.</i>	
<i>Luyſ Navarro</i>				<i>de Arragon</i>	<i>Geronimo de Oro.</i>
<i>Luyſ de Marcuello</i>					

The Seal of the
Juſtiza.

The Seal of the
Kingdom.

By the Command of
the Lords.

By the Command of
the ſaid Lords.

The Juſtiza of <i>Arra-</i>	}	}	The Juſtiza of <i>Arra-</i>
<i>gon</i> and of the De			<i>gon</i> and of the De
puties.			puties.
<i>Juan Mendile, No-</i>	}	}	<i>Diego de Miedes, No-</i>
tary and Secretary.			tary and Secretary.

But though the Inquiſitors, who will ſacrifice the Rights of their Country and every thing elſe to the Authority of their Courts, had ſollicitated the Miniſtry at *Madrid* to ſend a *Caſtilian* Army forthwith into *Arragon*: There was no Order of Men ſo zealous to have the Kingdom put in a Poſture of Defence againſt that Army, as the Clergy: All the People being called upon both by the Preachers, and by their Confefſors, to take up Arms to defend their Country, and its Laws and Rights againſt that foreign Army which was coming to deſtroy them all.

And whereas it had been ordered that *Don Alonſo de Vargas*, who was a Native of *Arragon*, ſhould be declared a Traytor to his Country if he came with that foreign Army to invade it: A Meſſenger with a publick Notary and two Witneſſes, were ſent by the

Justiza to that General, to acquaint him with that Sentence, and to command him upon Pain of Death not to presume to invade his native Country: And who being come to the *Castilian* Army at *Beruela* on the Frontiers; at first that General would not be seen by them, but having been told that they said it was all one whether he heard them or not, for if he did not, they would nail the Notification which they had brought upon the Gates; he permitted them to come to him, and to execute their Commission in his Presence in form of Law; but on that Occasion he did make the same Declaration, which he had formerly writ to *Saragoza*, which was,

‘ That he was too much an *Arragoneſe* ever
 ‘ to do any thing to the prejudice of the Rights
 ‘ and Liberties of his Country; and that he
 ‘ was not to invade *Arragon* with the Army
 ‘ which he commanded, but was only to
 ‘ march through that Kingdom with it, into
 ‘ *France*, to the Assistance of the League;
 ‘ and in Execution of a Treaty the King had
 ‘ entered into with it; and to chastise two or
 ‘ three, and no more, to give Satisfaction to
 ‘ the Justice of the Government which had
 ‘ been offended’. This *Don Alanzo* was I believe Son to the famous Doctor *Vargas*, whose wise and honest Letters, shewing the perfect Bondage the *Trent* Council was under to the Pope, were lately published from their Originals both in *English* and *French*. But

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But a Proclamation having been soon after published by that General, forbidding his Soldiers upon Pain of Death to rifle any Church or Monastery; the *Arragoneses* did reckon, that by that he did as good as give them leave to plunder all other Places: But whether that was that General's Intention or not, his Soldiers believing that it was, did plunder and make great Devastations in the Country through which they marched; and by which Violences the People of *Arragon* having been much incensed against that *Castilian* Army; the *Justiza* attended by most of the Nobles, put himself at the Head of the *Arragoneses* which had been brought together at *Saragoza*, and having set up the Standard of St. *George*, which is the Ensign the Kingdom had always made use of on such Occasions, he marched out of *Saragoza* with a Resolution to have faced the *Castilian* Army, which was much inferior to him in Numbers, and to have given it Battel.

But on the second Day after they had taken the Field, the *Arragoneses* Army having been deserted by the *Justiza* himself, and by the Duke *de Villa Hermosa*, and the Conde *Aranda*, and Don *John de Luna*, and Don *Diego de Eredia*, and all the rest of the Nobles; who apprehended that with their new raised Troops, they should not be able to stand before the *Castilian* disciplined,

well armed, and officer'd Army; without having seen the Enemy, it dispersed it self: And *Don Martin de la Nuca*, at whose House *Antonio Perez* still remained, being returned Home; they consulted together about the Course they were to take how to secure their Persons, now that the *Castilian* Army was within two Days march of *Saragoza*; and it having been resolved, that *Antonio Perez* should withdraw immediately, for Fear of falling into their Hands, *Don Martin* on the 10th of *November*, did in the Night conduct him safe out of the City-Gates, and told him, in case he were not able to persuade his Countrymen to make Head against the *Castilians*, which he said he would once more try to persuade them to do; he would follow him next Day thro' the Mountains by the Way they had agreed to go. In which Attempt, though he did not succeed, it was well for *Antonio Perez* that he made a Day's stay at *Saragoza* behind him; for had he not done that, it would hardly have been possible for him to have made his Escape, that City having by his stay in it, been kept near a Day in suspense what to do, and which would otherwise have sent the Keys of their Gates that Day to the *Castilian* General, as they did the Day after he left them.

Don

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Don Martin having gone to the Consistory as soon as it met, told the *Justiza*, and the rest, That now that the *Castilian* Army commanded by *Don Alonso de Vargas*, was at the Door, he desired, before he came to any Resolution as to his own Person, to know what they determined to do, and if they intended to defend themselves, and by Force of Arms to oppose the *Castilian* Army's entering their City; that he would assist them with his Person in Defence of his Country and its Laws, and of the *Justiza*, in Obedience to what had been decreed: But that if they would not be persuaded to that, that he would retire to his House in the Country, and remain there; if the Violences and Rigours the present Storm discharged it self in, would suffer him to do it.

And having found their Hearts all down, so that it was to no purpose to speak to them of defending themselves, he then desired that the City-Gates might be thrown open for all that would to retire; which having been granted, and ordered to be done, he took Horse presently, and rode publicly out of the City, attended by a great Number of his Friends, and a vast Multitude of People, who did all lament his leaving of them; and with whose Lamentations *Don Martin* being sensibly touched, he told them, ' That
' if his staying would be of any Advantage
' to

‘ to any of them, that he would not have
‘ left them, but would have staid and died
‘ with them ; whereas since their Affairs
‘ were brought to the last Point of Weak-
‘ ness and Misery, for him to stay would
‘ be but to die vilely ; and that as it was not
‘ just for any to advise him to that, so nei-
‘ ther did he advise any to it, but rather to
‘ retire to a Place where they might be safe ;
‘ and not to deliver up themselves to the
‘ Judgment of Wrath, the Persons to whom
‘ their common Mother their Country had
‘ entrusted her Sons and their Rights ; ha-
‘ ving given so ill an Account, of what they
‘ had been trusted with, that no good was
‘ to be expected, besides the Judgment of
‘ Truth, and the Prince’s Mind quieted, and
‘ better informed, and which is above all
‘ the Approbation of Heaven ; and to live,
‘ to hear, and see’. And having thus dis-
‘ missed his Friends, and the People, *Don*
Martin made the best of his Way to the
‘ Mountains, thro’ which by reason of the
‘ bad Season of the Year, he passed with great
‘ difficulty, as *Antonio Perez* and *Gil de Mesa*,
‘ who had never parted since the 24th of *Sep-*
tember, had done before him ; and having
‘ found them at *Sallen* the last Town in *Ar-*
ragon, he carried *Antonio Perez* to a Castle
‘ of his own that was near ; and who before
‘ he left *Sallen*, sent the following Letter by
‘ *Gil*

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Gil de Meſa, to the Lady *Catherine*, Siſter to the *French King*, who was at that Time in *Bearn*, to deſire leave of her to come into that Kingdom.

Antonio Perez's LETTER to the Princeſs of Catherine.

‘ **A**ntonio Perez preſents himſelf before
‘ your Highneſs and the Perſon you
‘ bear, by means of this Letter. Madam,
‘ If there be no Hole nor Corner in the
‘ Earth, the Noiſe of my Perſecutions has
‘ not reached ; how loud muſt it have rung
‘ on the high Ground your Highneſs ſtands
‘ upon ? By the Severity and long Duration
‘ of which Perſecutions being reduced to the
‘ laſt Point of Neceſſity, I am by the Law
‘ of Self-Defence, and natural Preſervation,
‘ obliged to look out for a Port where I may
‘ ſave my ſelf, and eſcape that tempeſtuous
‘ Sea, whoſe Billows have been raiſed, and
‘ kept up ſo high, and ſo long, by the Paſſi-
‘ ons of ſome Miniſters, as is notorious to the
‘ World ; and which, Madam, has had ſuf-
‘ ficient Cauſe to look on me, as a Metal
‘ which has undergone the Hammar, and all
‘ other Proofs.

‘ I do therefore ſupplique your Highneſs
‘ to afford me your Protection and Security,
‘ for the attaining of that End ; or your
‘ Grace

‘ Grace and Favour to guide me in safety to
 ‘ another Princess from whom I may re-
 ‘ ceive that Benefit; and in which your
 ‘ Highness will do a Work worthy of your
 ‘ Grandeur, in regard that Princes have,
 ‘ and on Earth ought to exercise, the Nature
 ‘ of the Elements; some of which for the
 ‘ Conservation of the World, do always re-
 ‘ ceive and defend those things which are
 ‘ persecuted and expelled by the others.

‘ And if Princes when any strange Ani-
 ‘ mals or Monsters in Nature are brought
 ‘ before them, are glad to see them, and do
 ‘ look on them with Curiosity, I shall pre-
 ‘ sent before your Highness a Monster of
 ‘ Fortune, and which is more to be admi-
 ‘ red than any other Monsters, for being the
 ‘ Work of more violent Causes; Fortune
 ‘ having on me exercised her Power so
 ‘ much, as to triumph over Nature and
 ‘ People.

From Sallen the 18th of November 1591.

‘ The other Princess he mentions in this
 Letter, was Queen *Elizabeth*, under whose
 Protection, from the beginning, he intended
 to put himself.

In answer to which Letter, that most re-
 ligious Princess *Catherine* told *Gil de Mesa*,
That Antonio Perez might come into Bearn
when he pleased, and that he should be sure to
find

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find Protection there; and should be permitted to enjoy his Religion.

However, *Don Martin* being amidst his own Vassals, and near to *Bearn*, he resolved to stay where he was, and keep *Antonio Perez* with him, until they heard how things went at *Saragoza*; into which City the *Castilian* General had entered with a good Part of his Army the Day after *Don Martin* left it. And the first thing that General after he was in *Saragoza* did, he ordered a Captain to go with a strong Guard, to fetch the *Justiza* of *Arragon* before him; and that Captain having met the *Justiza* as he was coming out from his Tribunal, arrested him in the King's Name, and having had him to the General's Quarters, he met with an Order there to carry him forthwith to the House of *Don John de Portellas*; and to which Place as the *Justiza* was going, he was met by two Jesuits, who told him they were sent by the Governour to prepare him for Death; the *Justiza* asked them how that could be, and whether Sentence of Death had been passed upon him by any Judge? The Captain answered, yes, by the King himself; and when they were come to the House, the *Justiza* having asked to see the Sentence, he was shewed a Paper, in which the King, with his own Hand, had writ to the General, as followeth.

‘ UPON

‘ UPON the Receipt of this, you shall
 ‘ cause *Don John de la Nuca Justiza* of
 ‘ *Arragon* to be arrested ; and you shall let
 ‘ me hear of his Death, as soon as of his Im-
 ‘ prisonment ; and shall cause his Head to
 ‘ be cut off, and order the publick Cryer to
 ‘ make the following Proclamation before
 ‘ him. This is the Justice which our Lord
 ‘ the King has commanded to be done to
 ‘ this Gentleman ; for being a Traytor, and
 ‘ for having convocated the People, and set
 ‘ up a Standard against his King ; who com-
 ‘ mands his Head to be cut off, and all his
 ‘ Goods to be confiscated, and his Castles
 ‘ and Houses to be demolished ; and he that
 ‘ does so, let him be thus paid.

The *Justiza* when he had read the Paper, said, ‘ That could not be, since by the Con-
 ‘ stitution of the Government, the *Justiza*
 ‘ of *Arragon* could not be condemned for
 ‘ any thing that he did, by any Person, or
 ‘ by any other Court, than a *Cortez* of the
 ‘ whole Kingdom.

But this and whatsoever else was alledged by the *Justiza* against the Validity of that Sentence, having been over-ruled by the General ; his Head was cut off within ten Hours after he was arrested, in the publick Market-place of the City ; to the great Mor-
 tification

tification of the People, who looked on all their Rights and Liberties as deſtroyed, by that Blow which cut off the Head of the *Juſtiza*, who was the ſtanding Guardian of them, and whoſe Perſon was therefore guarded ſo by the Law, that he could be queſtioned for nothing that he did, but by the King and the whole Kingdom in *Cortez* aſſembled: But Laws are but feeble and ſilent Things among Arms.

Don John de Luna, and *Don Diego de Eredia*, two of the Deputies of the Kingdom were beheaded likewise; and great Numbers were hanged; and all that had fled or that abſconded, had their Eſtates conſiſcated; and the Duke *de Villa Hermoſa*, and the *Conde de Aranda* were both contrary to the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, arreſted, and ſent Priſoners into *Caſtile*; and where they both died in Priſon.

And though a *Cortez* was called ſoon after to meet at *Taracona*, the *Arragoneſes* were ſo intimidated and awed by the ſtrong *Caſtilian* Garrifons which were put into *Saragoza*, and all the other Towns and Places of Strength; that we do not read of any Remonſtrance having been made by that *Cortez* againſt the fore-mentioned, and many more publick Violations of their fundamental Laws: And which the King at his coming to that Crown having taken an Oath never to violate himſelf,

self, nor to suffer them to be violated, and that under heavy Papal Censures, on this Occasion a new and extravagant Notion was started in the Court of *Madrid*; and which, if it could be defended, would justify all that the King had done to the *Arragoneses* and their Rights; which new Notion was, That *Don Pelayo*, by having been the first King that was set up by the *Spaniards*, after the *Moorish* Conquest, was not only King so much of that Country, as they who had chosen him were at that time in Possession of, or did afterwards conquer; but of all *Spain*, and consequently of *Arragon* and *Catalonia*, though those Countries had been taken from the *Moors* by other Princes and People, and had quietly been enjoyed by them above five hundred Years, without any Dependance on *Don Pelayo* and his Heirs; none of which before had ever pretended to or dreamt of any such Right. Now *Philip*, said the Coiners of this new Title, being Heir and Successor to *Don Pelayo*, as he is King of *Leon* and *Castile*; he and all his Predecessors in those two Kingdoms, must, by Right, have always been Kings of *Arragon*, though in Fact they had been so but for a few Years: All the Compacts therefore, whereon the *Arragonesse* Rights and Privileges were grounded, though of five hundred Years standing, are, and

and were from their Beginning, void and of no Effect, for having been made betwixt the Subjects of the King of *Leon*, and Princes who had no Title to be their Kings. And thus, to justify *Philip's* having destroyed all the *Arragonese* Rights, and to cover him from the Papal Censures denounced against all that should violate any of them, his Ancestors, the Kings of *Arragon*, must all be declared Usurpers; as it is said all our *English* Kings were to have been, to have helped the grand Tyrant *Cromwell* to a Title to the Crown of *England*, upon a far-fetched and never before heard of *British* Genealogy: And had *Massanello* succeeded at *Naples*, his Pedegree had undoubtedly before this Time been derived by some Herald or other, from the ancient Kings of that Country.

But, as wild as this Notion was, and all that know any thing of the *Spanish* Succession must know that nothing can be more groundless, a Champion was found that undertook to maintain it. And who should it be, but the very same Doctor *Madera*, who in *Folio* had demonstrated the Relicks and Manuscripts which were lately found under Ground at *Granada*, to be all True and Genuine; and who by that single Act of his Prowess, had given such a Proof of

the Strength of his Forehead, that a Cause, which could be defended by no other Weapon but that, could in no Age have possibly found an abler Champion. But it was always so, that let Force of Arms do what it will, Force of Forehead will always be found and employed to maintain it to be Just: But mercenary Pens being always ready to palliate, if not to justify their worst Actions, ought to be no Encouragement to Princes to do any thing that is not able to justify it self; the Natures of Things being fixt so, and being so obvious too, that all such Justifications or Palliations, though framed with never so much Art, are too thin, to cover the natural Deformity of illegal and oppressive Methods. But how lame soever the Vindications of this great Change were; from this Time the *Arragoneses* do Date the Loss of all those great Rights and Liberties, which were so long enjoyed by their Ancestors; and with them the Loss of their Trade and Wealth; which are always so fond of secured Property, that they will leave the most fertile Lands, and the best Climates, and the most commodious Ports, to follow it into Countries which have none of those Conveniencies. But to return to *Antonio Perez*. We may imagine he did not stay long in *Arragon*, after he heard of the Tragedies at
Saragoza;

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Saragoza; and so, on the 26th of *November*, having put himself into a Footman's Livery, he left *Spain*, and went to *Pao*, the first Town in *Bearn*, where he was kindly received by the Princess *Catherine*; and the next Day after he was there, his Friend *Don Martin* came to him, and told him, That the Lords of *Concas* and *Pinilla*, with three hundred Men had been at *Sallen* in quest of him; and though he had Force enough to have fought them, yet, rather than increase the Confusions of the Kingdom, he had chosen to retire to the Frontiers of *Bearn*; and that when he was there he had sent to those two Gentlemen, to let them know, that if they had any Offer to make to him, he would meet them, attended only by a Friend and six Footmen, on a Mountain which parted the two Kingdoms; and that, if they pleased, they might bring twelve Servants along with them; and to which Proposition those two Gentlemen having agreed, they had met accordingly; the first thing they asked him was, *Whether he knew what was become of Antonio Perez?* He answered them, *That he did not know certainly, but did believe that the Rigours which had been used with him had drove him into France*; they both seemed to be much troubled at that, and said, *That they*

had come after him with a Commission to have treated with him, in Order to have accommodated his Matters ; and that he having asked them, From whom they had that Commission ? they said, From the Inquisitor, and Don Alonso de Vargas ; and that upon that he and they had parted, and that he had come after him to know whether, if his Peace could be made with the King and the Inquisitors, he would be willing to go back to Spain.

Antonio Perez's Answer to this was, That there was nothing that he desired so much as to return to his own Country, if he could do it with safety ; and that if those Gentlemen would but let him know what Terms they had to Offer to him, they should have his Answer.

I am inclined to think, that *Don Martin*, though he was a Man of too much Honour to betray his Friend, by delivering him up to his enraged powerful Enemies ; yet, knowing how unwilling the King was, that one who had been so long his Secretary, and whom he had trusted with all the Secrets of his Government, should flee either into *France* or *England*, to tell Tales ; that he did hope to make his own Peace, by being an Instrument of keeping him, but by an Accommodation, from flying into those Kingdoms ; and that it was for that End that he carried him back to *Saragoza*, and kept him
at

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at his House after the Commotion on the 24th of *September*; and that he had kept him after he had left the City a second Time so many Days from going into *Bearn*; and that after he was in that Kingdom he had gone after him so soon, to try if he could persuade him to have gone back.

But whatever end *Don Martin* proposed to himself in this, *Antonio Perez* who knew both the King and the Inquisitors too well to trust his Person with them, was not by the greatest Promises they could have made him, to be persuaded to put himself any more in their Power; apprehending, and not without Reason, that after they had him once in their Hands, they would quickly on some pretence or other have illuded all their Promises.

But whatsoever they might have done to him, had they brought him back to *Spain* by fair Promises; it is certain that upon his not having returned thither, they did pursue him from Kingdom to Kingdom by Ruffians which they employed to murder him. For he had not been many Weeks in *France*, before a *Spaniard* was apprehended at *Bourdeaux*, for having come thither upon that Design, and who having been convicted of it, had been hanged for it, had not *Antonio Perez* begged his Life of the Princess *Catherine*

and the Marshal *Mantignon* ; and not long after, two *Spaniards* were hanged at *Paris*, upon their having been convicted of having come into that Kingdom upon that Errand : And in *London*, when he was there, in the Papers which were taken upon two *Irishmen*, who were convicted of having been sent into *England* to murder the Queen, his Name was found ; and by which, one of the *Irishmen* said the Queen was meant ; though the other denied it, and said *Antonio Perez* himself was meant by it, and that he had no other Business in *England* but to have killed him.

And when the Court of *Madrid*, found that to have him killed was not so easy a Matter, they were for making the Princess under whose Protection he was, jealous of him ; by writing kind Letters to him, and promising him great Rewards for the Services he did his King in those Parts ; and by forging Answers from him to those Letters.

But when that Court could neither procure his Death, nor cause the Princess who protected him to be jealous of him ; they made some use of him, by charging him with having forged all the Letters, which they were ashamed to own, when they were published.

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So when that Letter which had been writ by King *Philip* to *Henry* the 4th, whilst he was only King of *Navarre*, to engage him to begin a War upon *Henry* the 3d, and in which he offered him a great Sum of Money, was shewed to the Pope by the Duke of *Nevers*, upon the *Spaniards* opposing that King's Submission of himself to the Church of *Rome*; the Court of *Madrid* gave out, that That Letter had been forged by *Antonio Perez*; who knew how to counterfeit the King's Hand; and who had carried the King's Signet out of *Spain* with him: And the same was given out by that Court as to the Letter which had been writ to the Duke of *Parma*, and which was intercepted in *France*; in which that Duke was commanded, by some means or other, to ease the King of the Duke of *Humena*.

I have not been able to learn, how long the unfortunate *Antonio Perez* lived, or how long he staid in *England*; but by the Date of one of his Letters, I find he was alive, and I suppose in *France*, at the latter End of the Year 1602. By one of his Letters I find he was much called on by some of his Friends to publish some Memoirs he had by him; and in another of his Letters, he speaks of twelve Councils of State, which he intended to make Publick; of which one was, that

which was assembled by *Philip* the 2d, upon his having imprisoned his Son the Prince *Don Carlos*, and who was afterwards believed to have been put to Death by his Father's Order, and in his Presence. And another was that which was assembled on Occasion of the Inquisitions having confined *Don Bartholomew de Caranza* Archbishop of *Toledo*, on Suspicion of his being a *Protestant*, and under which Confinement that great Prelate continued in *Spain* and at *Rome* from the Year 1559, to the Year 1576, when he died. But I am apt to think that neither of those two Books were ever printed; for as, had they been published, they would have helped the World to the most considerable secret History that it had ever seen; so they would, for that Reason, have been in every Body's Hands; whereas upon the best Enquiry that I have been able to make, I do not hear that there are any such Books extant.

Upon the Death of *Philip* the 2d, it was generally reported, that on his Death-Bed he had strictly charged his Son, to make Satisfaction to *Antonio Perez*, and to his Family, for the great wrong he had done them: Which Charge, if it was ever given, was never observed; no more than that of restoring the Kingdom of *Navar* to the *French*,
from

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from whom it had been unjustly taken and so could not be detained with a good Conscience. Which Restitution, though both *Charles* the 5th, and his Son *Philip*, had to deceive their own Consciences, and God, if it were possible, strictly commanded their Heirs for to make; yet at the same Time they took care to clog that Command, with a Condition, which they knew very well must hinder it from ever being obeyed; and which did plainly discover that it was not really their Intention or Desire that it should ever be done. For he died in *France* in Exile, some Years after *Philip* the 2d's Death; and miserably Poor, though it was said that he had received great Sums of Money from the Princess *Eboli*, having nothing that was visible left, besides a Vanity, which his Troubles had not been able to mortify in him, and which had rendered him unacceptable, both to Queen *Elizabeth*, and to *Henry* the 4th, by both which wise Princes he had been at first kindly entertained. For at the Peace of *Vervin*, *Henry* the 4th insisted so on having him pardoned; that he had been in all Probability, had not the *Spaniards* alledged, that having fled from the Inquisition, the King could not pardon him; nor if he returned to *Spain* again, hinder that Court from taking him up. And thus
the

the Inquisition, which at first had been made use of merely upon a feigned Pretext, to have kept him from going out of *Spain*, (for he lived and died a *Papist*,) was now made use of to hinder him from having a Pardon, and from having his Wife, Children and Estate restored to him, which was all that he desired: For if all the Princes in *Europe* would have been his Guarantees, he would not, upon any Articles, have ventured himself into *Spain* any more. In several of his Letters, he speaks of *Henry* the 4th's having promised him not to restore the Duke *D'Aumale* at the Instance of *Spain*, until his Wife, Children and Estate were restored to him; and of that King's having persisted in that Resolution, until this difficulty concerning the Inquisition was started by the *Spaniards*. For though that Prince, nor no true *Frenchman*, ever had any Kindness for that Court, yet he being a new and suspected Convert, might not think it convenient to insist on a thing, which he knew would very much irritate that implacable Office, and all its Familiars; who would certainly have proclaimed it, as a Testimony of his being still a *Protestant* in his Heart: And of that, without his having given them this Evidence of it, they were so fully persuaded; that they were never at Ease, before

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before the Jesuits, by *Ravillac*, their villainous Disciple's means, had got that great Prince's Heart in their keeping, at *La Fleche*.

Besides *Antonio Perez*, *Don Martin de la Nuca*, and *Gil de Mesa*, and some more *Aragonese* Gentlemen, who had been driven by the *Castilian* Army into *France*, died in that Kingdom; being afraid, though they were restored by the Peace of *Vervin*, to return to their own Country, now that it had lost all its Rights, and where they knew it would be easy for the Inquisition, after their having lived in a Country where there were Hereticks, on some Pretence or other, to defeat their Indemnity to all Intents and Purposes.

*An Excerpt from the Spanish Histories,
relating to Antonio Perez and his
Troubles.*

The *Spaniard* by whom *Mariana's* History is continued, on the Year 1591 writes as followeth.

Antonio Perez, who had been the King's Secretary, and who had much Power in the Court, after having been twelve Years a Prisoner, made his Escape in *April* in the forego-

foregoing Year, out of the Prison of *Madrid*, and fled into *Arragon*, to present himself before the *Justiza* of *Arragon*; to give an Account how he had caused *Escovedo* to be killed as he went from the Palace, and of some other Matters which had been laid to his Charge.

The Joy with which some unquiet Spirits received the News of his being come among them, was quickly turned into Lamentations and Tears; such is the Condition of human Affairs, and which was thus. On the 24th of *May* in this Year 1591, *Antonio Perez* having been taken out of the Prison of the *Justiza*, and carried to the Prisons of the Inquisitors, the People took up Arms, and proclaimed *Liberty*, and who having fallen upon the House of *Don Inigo de Mendoza*, Marquis of *Almanera*, who was the King's Minister, they killed him before they left him; and having after that gone with the same Fury to the Inquisition, with an Intention to have broke open its Prisons, they did not desist, until they had *Antonio Perez* brought out, and carried back again to his former Prison.

The Issue of which was, the People rose again on the 24th of *September*, upon the Inquisitors having come to the *Manifestation* to carry *Antonio Perez* a second Time to their

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their Prisons; and having broken into the Prison of the *Manifestation*, they set *Antonio Perez* at Liberty, and in this Revolt several were killed and wounded. *Antonio Perez* fled soon after into *France*, where some Years after he died.

Alphonso Sanchez in his History of *Spain*, on the same Year writes as followeth.

THE Commotions in *Arragon* do follow: The Origin of which was *Antonio Perez*, the King's Secretary, having fled to the Rights of *Arragon*: The Populace, whose Strength useth to be formidable, having taken up Arms to defend their Rights and Liberty, did raise great Commotions, and in defending *Antonio Perez*, they broke open Prisons, and killed *Inigo de Mendoza* Marquiss of *Almanera*; and having by that provoked the King's Wrath and Severity against them, *Alonso de Vargas*, an experienced Commander, was sent into *Arragon* with an Army, by whom the Guilty having been punished, the Commotions were quieted; and for the future they were chastized, by having their Tribune of the People, or, as they called him, their *Justiza*, publickly put to Death.

In

In these Accounts, the Reader may observe; that though they were both printed in *Spain*, there is not the least Intimation of the King's having been unjustly charged by *Antonio Perez* with *Escovedo's* Death.

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O N T H E
C A N O N S
O F T H E
Council of Sardica,
Particularly on that which Relates to
APPEALS to ROME.

ESSAYS
ON THE
CANONS
OF THE
Council of Sardica
Particularly on that which Relates to
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INTRODUCTION.

HAVING long had some Suspicion, That the Canons which have for many Ages passed Currant under the Name of the Council of Sardica, were not made by that Council, but were forged many Years after, and fathered upon it, to help them to Credit : I did wish earnestly, that some able Ecclesiastical Antiquary would undertake to Sift those Canons, more narrowly, than I take them to have been either by the Greeks, or by the Protestants.

And to that end, in the Appendix to my Dissertation on the Papal Supremacy, I did publish that my Suspicion to the World, and did afterwards ask a very Learned Man what his Thoughts were of those Canons. And though I cannot say,

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The INTRODUCTION.

that he gave any Encouragement to that Suspicion ; yet not having offered any thing that I felt strong enough to remove it, I shall here modestly set down the Grounds on which it stands ; leaving them to be Improved, or Destroyed, with that Indifferency which always attends a Love for Truth, without any Mixture in it of an Affectation of Singularity, or of any other partial Ingredient.

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Council of *Sardica* &c.

AS it was visibly to *Rome's* being the Metropolis to the Empire, that the Bishops of that City did owe all the Pre-eminencies, that were bestowed on them by the Primitive Councils; so it was that *Principatus*, as *Irenæus* calls it, and its necessary Concomitants, such as oppressed Ecclesiasticks fleeing to *Rome*, for to have Relief from the *Imperial* Authority, that first filled the Heads of the *Roman* Bishops with the ambitious Fumes of their having such a Superiority over all other Churches, that there lay an Appeal from them to their *See*, as to the supreme and last Ecclesiastical Judicature.

The great Authority and Dignity of the Pontifex *Maximus* in *Rome* Heathen, and the Bishop of that City, after it was become Christian, reckoning that That high Office had naturally devolved to him, was one of the first and strongest Seeds of the Papal Ambition. So that in Truth it was not Christ and the wide Propagation of his Gospel, but *Numa* and the *Romans* great Conquests that laid the Foundation of the *Roman* Bishop's Pretences to a Supremacy over all his Brethren, and that it was so, the Bishops of *Rome* having assumed to themselves the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*, and holding it to this Day, is a plain Evidence, not that the *Roman* Bishops having taken upon them that Title, when it was justly dropt by the Christian Emperors, who had too long retained it, was a thing improper; no not though they had, by virtue of it, laid claim to the Precedency of all other Bishops within the *Roman Empire*, provided they had kept it upon that its true Bottom; and this I believe they would have done, if the Seat of the Empire had never been removed from their City. For though it is true, that before that Translation of the Seat of the Empire, another ground for that Pre-eminence had been mentioned; it is more than probable, that That ground did arise so out of the former, that the Story of the first of the Apostles

file's having been Bishop of *Rome*, had never been dreamt of, if the Christians after they were grown numerous in that City, had not begun to think, that after the Examples of the Heathens in it, their Bishop ought to be the chief Pontiff of their Religion. But to enter upon the Business of *Appeals*.

What was done by the Emperor *Constantine* the Great in *Donatus's* Cause, when he fled from *Africk* to *Rome* for Succour, visibly subverts the very Foundations of the Papal Claim to Appeals: *Melchiades* Bishop of *Rome* at that time, having done nothing in that Affair but what he did by Vertue of a Commission from that Emperor, and who joined three Bishops more with him in it as Judges; and *Donatus* having Appealed to that Emperor against the Sentence of those Bishops, the Emperor called a Council of Bishops at *Arles* in *France*, to review their Sentence, and to do *Donatus* Justice.

Neither did what happened in the Case of *St. Athanasius*, when he fled from *Egypt* to *Rome* for Relief, as he had done some Years before to *Constantinople*, when the Emperor was in that City; it being very plain, that the thing that carried him thither, was to seek for Relief from an Emperor, who professed the Faith for which

he was so much persecuted, having been Deposed and Excommunicated for it by the *Arians*. And having after he was at *Rome* prevailed with the Emperor *Constantine*, who adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, to write to his Brother *Constantius*, who was a Bigot for *Arianism*, that a Council of the *Eastern* and *Western* Bishops might be assembled together in some convenient Place to hear his Cause. Such a Council was accordingly agreed on by the two Emperors, and which having met at *Sardica*, a City on the Frontiers of both their Dominions. St. *Athanasius* after a full hearing of his Cause was acquitted by the Orthodox, and major Part of that Council; but was condemned by that Part of it which had retired to *Philippi*, and by whom, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* was Excommunicated for having held Communion with him.

Note here, that though the Bishop of *Rome* on this Occasion was Excommunicated, and that unjustly too by the *Arians*, yet that they are not for having done that, nor for any of their other Oppositions to the *Roman See*, ever charged by their Adversaries with *Heresy*; and which they would certainly have been by *Athanasius*, and the other Orthodox Bishops, if they themselves had believed the *Roman Church* to have

have had a Supremacy over all other Churches.

It is true, *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, who after his Emperor's Example, firmly adhered to the *Nicene Creed*, was very kind to *Athanasius* when he was in the *West*, and did him all the good Offices that were in his Power; as indeed what Bishop will not do so, to other Bishops being cruelly persecuted for the Faith which they profess. It is true also, that it is natural for People that are oppressed, to be too forward to allow their Friends all the Power that they will pretend to, though without any just Grounds, that they may be able to succour them the more. And yet I do not find that *Athanasius* was so far charmed with *Julius's* Civilities to him, as to be guilty of that common Weakness, having no where intimated, that the thing which had carried him to *Rome*, was to *Appeal* to the Bishop of that *See*, as to the supreme Ecclesiastical Judge. But what *Athanasius* himself did not, an officious *Roman* Hand did for him long after his Death: It was the same with Pope *Julius*, who for not having said enough that looked that way, had long after his Death two Letters forged under his Name, in which there is enough said of it.

But it was not by foreign Ecclesiasticks, unjustly persecuted, having fled to the *Principatus*, or the Imperial Authority in Rome for Relief, that the Bishop of that City's Crests were first raised; but by Ecclesiasticks fleeing thither, who had been justly Excommunicated by their own Bishops. And as such were willing to make the *Roman* Bishop their Friend, as one that might do them some Kindness with the *Imperial Principatus*, on which he could not but have some Influence; so for their own Benefit, they were forward to allow that Bishop the Authority of receiving *Appeals* from all other Churches. And as that was natural for such Delinquents, so the *Roman* Bishops did value themselves too highly on the *Imperial* Supremacy of their City, not to make use of that Handle; and after the putting in of a Claim to that Jurisdiction was got once into their Heads, to encourage the making of such *Appeals*, they oftentimes shewed too much Favour to such Delinquents: But to fall on the Business in Hand.

The Story of the Council of *Sardica*, is a dark and perplexed Piece of History: By some it is said to have been assembled by *Constantine* the Great; by others, by his Sons *Constantine* and *Constantius*; by some, and

and of which Number was the great St. *Au-*
stin, it is said to have condemned the *Ni-*
cene Creed, by others to have renewed and
confirmed it, and by others not to have
meddled with it at all, nor with any thing
else but *Athanasius's* Cause; by some it is
said to have consisted but of 68 Bishops,
by others of 250, by others of near 300,
by others of above 300; so that in Truth
there is nothing that concerns it, that is
very certain. But it is not my Business here,
to enquire into the Merits of that Council,
but to enquire only, whether the Canons
which have passed currant so long under its
Name, were made by it or not.

Now by whom or whensoever those Ca-
nons were made, the Third, Fourth and
Fifth in the *Greek*: And in the *Latin*, the
Third, Fourth, and Seventh, had the Esta-
blishing of an Authority in the *Roman See*,
to receive Appeals from all other Churches,
directly in their Eye; the Seventh of which
Canons, having near an 100 Years after the
time of the *Sardican Council*, been sent into
Africk by Pope *Zozimus*, as a Canon of the
Council of *Nice*, and having been justly de-
nied by the *African* Fathers to be a *Nicene*
Canon; a solemn Contest arose about it, be-
twixt them and that Pope, and his two im-
mediate Successors, of which publick Con-
test,

test, since my first Suspicion of the *Sardican* Canons being spurious did owe its Birth to it, I shall here give a short Account.

One *Appiarius* a Presbyter of the Church of *Sicca*, a City in *Africk*, having been for divers Misdemeanours Excommunicated by *Urbanus* his Bishop, he fled to *Rome*; where to encourage Appeals to that *See*, he was by *Zozimus* Bishop of that City absolved, and received into the Communion of the Church.

The *African* Bishops, who in a Council which they had held not long before at *Milevi*, had strictly forbid all transmarine Appeals, being much offended with what *Zozimus* had done; did, to put a full stop for the future to all such Irregularities, and Usurpations of Power, assemble together in a Council in the City of *Carthage*, to the Acts of which Council there are the Subscriptions of 217 Bishops, and among whom was St. *Austin*.

Pope *Zozimus* fearing least there might be something done in that Council to that Ruin of his young and tender Claim, did send three Legates to it to maintain it, and knowing how profound and just a Reverence the *African* Church had for the Authority of the general Council of *Nice*, he furnished his Legates with a Canon, which
did

did expressly declare the Jurisdiction of receiving of Appeals to be in the *Roman See*, and which Canon he very boldly affirmed was made by the *Nicene Council*: That Canon was as followeth.

It has pleased, that if a Bishop that is accused, and is by the Bishops of his Region assembled together judged worthy to be deposed, shall Appeal and Flee to the most blessed Bishop of the Roman Church, desiring to be heard: He if he shall think it just, that his Judgment should be renewed, may condescend to write to the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, diligently to examine the Matter, and to define it faithfully according to Truth. And if any one that shall desire to have his Cause heard over again, shall supplicate the Roman Bishop, to send Presbyters from his own Side, it shall be in the Power of that Bishop to do in that as he shall think good. And if he do decree to send some to be present with those Bishops in judging, they having the Authority of him by whom they were sent, shall have the Arbitriment: But in case he shall judge those Bishops to be sufficient to put an end to that Matter, he may do what he in his most wise Council judgeth to be best.

This Canon, after the Example of most Forgeries is so perplexed, and in its several Copies so differently exprest, that its whole meaning

meaning is not easy to be understood ; but its main Drift is nevertheless very plain, which is, the Authorizing of *Appeals* from all Churches to the *Roman See* ; in Contradiction to former Canons, by which they were ordered otherwise.

There was another Canon besides this delivered by *Zozimus's* Legates, and as a Canon of the Council of *Nice* too, and which is now likewise among the *Sardican* Canons, but much longer there, than it is in *Zozimus's* Commonitory ; it is concerning Presbyters and Deacons Appealing from the rash Sentences of their Bishops. But as there is nothing in that Canon of *Appeals* to *Rome*, but rather the contrary, so the *African* Fathers entered into no Dispute about it ; and the Truth is, *Zozimus* seeking to defend what he had done in *Appiarius's* Case by that Canon, looks as if he had received his *Appeal*, as the *Metropolitan* of the neighbouring Province to *Africk*, which *Appeals* were authorized by the Council of *Antioch*, and not as the supreme Judge of the whole Church.

When the above repeated Canon was by *Zozimus's* Legates delivered in a Commonitory, as a Canon of the general Council of *Nice*, the *African* Bishops were all astonished to hear of that Council's having made
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such a Canon, there being no such among the *Nicene* Canons which were in their Hands; and having told the Legates, that though they were ready to yield Obedience to every thing that had been constituted by the *Nicene* Council, they could not believe that Canon to have been made by it. The Legates being positive that it was undoubtedly a Canon of that general Council, the *African* Fathers to put an end to that Dispute, which the positive Words of the Parties engaged in it would never do, said, they would send to the Bishops of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria* and *Antioch*, to have from them the true Copies of all the Canons which had been made in the *Nicene* Council. And having accordingly dispatched Legates to all those three great Bishops, they had true Copies sent into *Africk* from them, of the Canons of that Council, and which did all agree with the Copy of the *Nicene* Canons which they had before. Among which, the fore-mentioned Canon was not only not found, but among them there was a Canon that contradicted it, commanding, none that were Excommunicated by their Bishops, to be any where received into the Communion of the Church before they are admitted into it, either by the Bishop,

shop, or by a Synod of the Province to which they belonged.

Now as it had required time for the *African* Bishops to have true Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council, from the remote Cities to which they had sent for them ; so during that time the Bishops of *Rome*, for there were Three whilst this Controversy was depending, did stand it out stiffly, that the Canon which had been sent to them by Pope *Zozimus*, was indisputably made by the General Council of *Nice* ; neither were they at all moved, by that Canon's not being in the Authentick Copies of the *Nicene* Canons, sent out of the *East* to the *African* Bishops. The same Claim, and without Success was made likewise in the *Gallican* Church, by *Zozimus* and his two Successors ; which Trick being taken with all its Circumstances, may safely defy History to produce such another, for a sturdy and shameless Assurance. And though it might well have been hoped that the *Roman* Bishops, after that Trick came to be so publickly detected before the Face of the whole Christian Church, should have been glad silently to have dropped a Cause, which by having so long endeavoured to support, by so gross an Imposture, had drawn so much Shame and Confusion upon their

their Heads; we shall hereafter see, that it was quite otherwise; and that instead of being so much mortified, they presently went hard to work to cover that shameful Blot on their *See*, by heaping upon it Frauds upon Frauds: And among which I do suspect the Canons which have passed so long currant under the Name of the *Council of Sardica* to have been, that which was sent by Pope *Zozimus* to the *African* Bishops, as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, being one of them. Of which Canons I come now to speak.

Now, considering this long and great Contest, which was betwixt the *African* Church, and three Bishops of *Rome* successively, concerning the fore-mentioned important Canon; can it well be imagined, that if that Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that both those Popes, and those *African* Bishops would not have known that it was made by that Council; or if they had known it, that they would not, on such an Occasion have mentioned it, which neither of them do in the least.

For as to the Popes, as it is not credible that if that worthy Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, that they would not have known that it was: So
neither

neither is it credible that if they had known it, that they would not have proclaimed it aloud, after they were convicted of the Fraud of having endeavoured to impose it on the *African* Church as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*; both the Honour of their *See*, and of their young and tender Claim to *Appeals*, which could not be but much shaken by that solemn Detection calling upon them to have done it. The mistaking of the Canon of one Council for the Canon of another, being nothing near so scandalous and dishonourable, as was the devising of a Canon, and fathering it on a General Council, on purpose to serve a Turn. And of this last, for want of their having told the *African* Bishops that it was a *Sardican* Canon, they were thought to be Guilty. And to this Day we see the Papal Champions do look on this as the best thing that can be offered to vindicate Pope *Zozimus* and his two Successors, from having been down-right Falsaries and Impostors in the Affair of this Canon.

And as to the *African* Bishops, if this Canon had been made by the Council of *Sardica*, as they could not but have known of its having been made by that Council, at which no fewer than thirty-six *African* Bishops were present; so if they had known that,

that, could they possibly, during so long a Contest, concerning the Council by which that Canon was made, not have once mentioned its being a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*; and the rather because that would, in all likelihood, have saved them the great Charge and Trouble of sending Legates to the three remote Cities of *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, for faithful Copies of the Canons of the *Nicene* Council; for had they told Pope *Zozimus* at first, That that Canon which he offered to impose upon them as a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, was not a Canon of that Council, but was Word for Word a Canon of the Council of *Sardica* as it is now; he and his Successors would have been ashamed to have urged that Matter any farther, or to have given them the Trouble of sending so far for faithful Copies of the *Nicene* Canons.

Add to this, that neither *Athanasius*, who in his Writings speaks so much of the *Sardican* Council, and to whom *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* was so great a Friend, nor any other Writer about that Time, no not Pope *Julius* himself, has one Syllable of that Council's having made any such Canon as that of *Zozimus's*, or indeed any Canons at all. Neither is there a Word of this Council's having made any Canons,

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nons, in either of its genuine Letters which are in *Athanasius*, nor in that which was forged under its Name to Pope *Julius*.

Nor was this Canon of *Zozimus* fifty Years after the Time of the *Sardican Council* known to the *Western Bishops*, who writing to the Emperor *Theodosius*, to have a Council of the *Western and Eastern Bishops* assembled, to judge of *Maximus Bishop of Constantinople's Cause*, who they thought had been unjustly deposed by his *Eastern Neighbours*, do not on that Occasion, so much as mention the *Dernier Resort*, or last *Appeal* of Ecclesiasticks being by any Canon of the Church lodged in the *Roman See*; and which they would certainly have done, and have insisted on it, if they had known that there had been any such Canon. On the contrary, they do expressly disclaim that Authority, which is by *Zozimus's Canon* lodged in the Bishop of Rome; declaring on that Occasion, *Non Prærogativam Nobis vindicamus Examinis, sed Consortium communis Arbitrii: We do not assume to our Selves the Prerogative of an Examination, but only the Fellowship of a common Arbitriment*; that is, in Conjunction with the *Eastern Bishops*. Neither did Pope *Innocent the First*, sixty Years after the Time of

of the *Sardican* Council, know any thing of that Council's having made any such Canon, for if he had, he would not have told the *Eastern* Clergy, *That the Roman Church admitted no Canons but the Nicene.*

It is true, *Palladius*, who flourished in the beginning of the fifth Century, saith, *That the Canon of the Council of Antioch, which had lodged the last Appeal of Ecclesiasticks in the neighbouring Province of Bishops, was abrogated by the Sardican Council.* But he does not say, that it was abrogated by a Canon made in that Council, but only by that Council having in Contradiction to that Canon of *Antioch* reviewed *Athanasius's* Cause, and judged him to have been unjustly Excommunicated and Deposed by his *Eastern* Neighbours.

It is the same with *St. Basil*, and with all that do before the sixth Century speak of the Acts of the *Sardican* Council, who had in their Eye no other Acts of that Council, but those only which did relate directly to *St. Athanasius's* Absolution, of which Acts they did all approve.

Now all this Silence appears to me to be so strong an Evidence of the *Sardican* Council's not having made that Canon, that I shall suspect that it did not, until I shall

see some good Reason given to the contrary ; but that it was fathered on that Council after the Time of the sixth Council of *Carthage*, and that on purpose to retrieve the Credit of the *Roman See*, and of its Claim to *Appeals*. And whereas it would have looked odd for a Council to have made but one Canon, and that a Canon too which had been blown on so much, or with but one Canon for a Companion ; the rest were therefore devised and fathered on the *Sardican Council*, on purpose to keep it in Countenance. And the thing that inclines me the more to believe that this may be the true History of the *Sardican Canons*, is, the Bishops of *Rome* and their Agents having after the sixth Council of *Carthage*, by numberless Frauds, sought to cover this Blot.

The first was, by counterfeit Writings, to have persuaded the World that the *Nicene Council* had made more Canons than the twenty which were in all the *Eastern* and *African* Copies : And that those supernumerary Canons being lost, that which was sent by Pope *Zozimus* into *Africk* might have been one of them. And as this, if it could have been proved, would have gone a great way towards the vindicating of that

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Pope and his Successors, so they went to work to provide strong Proofs of it.

And whereas no Man, in every thing that related to the Council of *Nice*, could be so good a Witness as *Athanasius*, who was present at that Council, and suffered so much for adhering to it: So for that Reason two Letters were forged under his Name to bear Testimony to that Paradox. The one was said to be written by him to Pope *Mark*, and the other to Pope *Felix*. And being sensible that it would not be an easy thing to persuade the Christian World, of the *Nicene* Council's having made any more than twenty Canons, that they might have four Witnesses, they forged two Letters under the Name of Pope *Julius*, and one under the Name of Pope *Mark*.

In the Letter under his Name to Pope *Mark*, *Athanasius* is made to speak home to the Matter; saying in it, *Verily, I my self being present, eighty Chapters were made by that Synod, (meaning the Nicene,) forty by the Greeks, and which were published in Greek, and forty by the Latines, and which were published in Latin.* Now besides this strange News, some Things are spoke of in that Letter which happened long after Pope *Mark*'s Death; and indeed there are so many such Blunders in it, that it is given

up for a Forgery both by *Baronius* and *Bellarmino*. And though the Letter to Pope *Felix* has not the Advantage of such an Acknowledgement, being confidently quoted by *Bellarmino* as a genuine Writing, it deserves it as well: For in that Letter *Athanasius* is made to tell *Felix* strange News indeed; which was, That he was consecrated a Bishop at *Rome*, and at *Felix's* Request; whereas all the Christian World knows, that *Athanasius* was consecrated a Bishop at *Alexandria*, long before he and *Felix* were acquainted. There is also a false Indiction in that Letter; and in it, the Bishop of *Rome* is flattered in bad *Latin*, as fulsomely as ever he was by any hungry Parasite.

Pope *Mark's* Letter to *Athanasius*, positively affirms the *Nicene* Council to have made seventy Canons, according to the Number of the seventy Disciples. But as that Letter bears Date after Pope *Mark's* Death, and takes Notice of Things that happened after it; so *Baronius* is forced to give it up for a Forgery. And as to the two Letters under Pope *Julius's* Name, when it is told, That they do belong to the noble Collection of the *Decretal Epistles*, enough is said to ruin their Credit, not only with all *Protestants*, but with *Bar-*

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ronius likewise, who with Cardinal *Bona* acknowledges them to be Counterfeits. It is the same with Pope *Damasus's* Letter to the *African* Bishops, and with the Letter of three *African* Councils to *Damasus*, in which, in Contradiction to the sixth Council of *Carthage*, the Right of *Appeals* is proclaimed to be in the *Roman See*. And whereas St. *Austin* had been a great Part of that Council which had so firmly withstood Pope *Zozimus* and his counterfeited Canons, in the Affair of *Appeals*; to ward off his great Authority, a Letter was long after his Death counterfeited under his Name, in which he is made to approve of the *Appeals* to *Rome*, he had opposed so much in the sixth Council of *Carthage*. And though that Letter is no where found among St. *Austin's* Works, but only in a single Copy of his Letters, and in a late Hand in the *Vatican Library*, the great and false Repository of all the Papal false Deeds; *Baronius* vapours with it, as a Demonstration of that Father's having approved of *Appeals* from all Parts to *Rome*, provided they were duly ordered. And so does, contrary to plain Matter of Fact, pretend that *Appeals* to *Rome* were not condemned by the sixth Council of *Carthage*, but only their not being regularly made.

Now what a Cloud of Forgeries, though I have not named half of them, did *Zozimus's* Canon raise, to be a covering to it; and by which long Train of counterfeit Writings, which were through many unlearned Ages believed to be undoubtedly Genuine, the very Foundations of the Papal Supremacy are laid open so, that none that have not their Eyes either blinded by the God of this World, or strangely dazzled with the present great Splendor of the Papal Empire, can help seeing the Hay and Stubble they stand upon, through all the thin Mists raised by subtle Heads to cover them. But to return;

When it was found that the Christian World was not to be persuaded by counterfeit Writings, that the Council of *Nice* had made any more than twenty Canons, they had Recourse to other Frauds.

The first was, That the Councils of *Nice* and of *Sardica*, were by the Ancients looked on as one and the same general Council, and that That was the Reason of Pope *Zozimus's* having called the *Sardican* Canon which he sent into *Africk*, a Canon of the Council of *Nice*: And when it was found that this would not do neither, as it could not be well expected that it should, the Council of *Sardica* having met above
twenty

twenty Years after the Council of *Nice*, and having had but few of the same Bishops in it; they then began to extol the *Sardican* Council its self, as a General Council, and of equal Authority with the *Nicene*, if not of greater, in the *African* Church, which had not near so many Bishops at the *Nicene*, as she had at the *Sardican* Council.

Now these three Shifts, of the *Nicene* Council's having made more than twenty Canons, and of the *Sardican* Council's being one and the same with the *Nicene*; and of the *Sardican* Council its self being a general Council, and reckoned so by the Ancients; though they are all incredible Paradoxes in Ecclesiastical History; are nevertheless defended to this Day by all the sworn Champions of the *Roman See*, but with Weapons so blunt and weak, that were they not whetted and strengthened with outrageous Railing, and a double tempered Assurance, they would be ashamed to bring them into the Field of Controversy. For Example, *Baronius* the ablest of all those Champions, offers to demonstrate the Council of *Sardica* to have been by the Ancients looked on as one and the same General Council with that of *Nice*; because, forsooth, the Ancients when they do reckon up the General Councils, do never name
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that of *Sardica* among them ; but do constantly put that of *Constantinople* next after the *Nicene*. Which Demonstration of *Baronius's* has but one Fault, and that is, that it proves just the contrary to that for which he produced it. The *Sardican* Council having never been by any of the Ancients looked on as a general Council, nor as one and the same with the *Nicene*, they never numbered it among them, no more than those of *Antioch*, *Ancyra*, &c. And yet poor *Protestants*, because they will not be convinced by such Arguments as these, are by that modest Cardinal, who always gives hard Names when he is hard pressed, called *Impudent Innovators*.

And as it is not unlikely that *Zozimus's* Canon and its Companions, were for the foresaid Reason fathered on the *Sardican* Council, after the Time of the sixth Council of *Carthage* ; so it is not improbable that That was not done until many Years after that Council, and that it would never have been thought of, if the Christian World would but have been persuaded of the Council of *Nice's* having made more than twenty Canons, and of *Zozimus's* Canon being one of those that was lost. For in many Years after the sixth Council of *Carthage*, I have not met with any Writer that speaks of the

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Sardican Councils having made any Canons.

The first Writer, that I know of, that mentions it, is *Dionysius Exiguus*, who lived 200 Years after the *Sardican* Council, and 100 Years after that of *Carthage*, which is a long Time for the Canons of so noted a Council, if it had made any, not to have been spoken of; and especially, if that of *Zozimus's*, which an 100 Years before was exposed on a Stage more publickly than ever any other Canon was, had been one of that Number as it is now.

Now, were it certain that *Dionysius Exiguus* was the first Writer that ever spoke of the *Sardican* Council's having made any Canons; considering the Man, his Talents, Inclination, and Practice, there would be just Cause to suspect him of having been likewise the first Man that helped *Zozimus's* Canon to the Honour of having been made by that ancient Council. For though this *Dionysius* was by Nation a *Scythian*, and had studied among the *Grecians* so long as to be Master of their Tongue; yet he had withal lived so long in *Rome*, where he was an Abbot, that no Man was more devoted than he, to the exalting of the Authority of the *Roman See*: And for that
End,

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End, it it manifest he had no Scruple to make use of Frauds : Witness the Epistles published by him under the Names of divers Popes. Which Epistles whether they were forged by him or not, were palpably too spurious for one of his, or indeed of any Learning, not to have felt them to have been Forgeries.

And as I think it is pretty plain, that there was a Managery about *Zozimus's* Canon both in *Greek* and *Latin*, to make it lie so under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, as should be most for the Advantage of the *Roman See's* Claim to *Appeals* ; so I do not think that any Man was so likely to be that Manager, as this *Dionysius*, who understood both those Tongues, and was the first that turned *Zozimus's* Canon into *Greek*.

That Managery in the *Latin* was, that whereas *Zozimus's* Canon, when it was sent by him into *Africk*, had no *Placet*, nor other Expression of Assent of the Council added to the End of it ; and which if it had when it was made, none could have imagined that *Zozimus* would have cut it off, to the maiming of his Canon. So for that Reason, though most of the other *Sardican* Canons in *Latin* have the Council's *Placet* or *Decernatur* at the end of

of them, *Zozimus's* has none there, and that it might lie Word for Word the same in that Council that it lies now in *Zozimus's* Commonitory, *Hofius*, as if the whole Council had been in his Belly, before he proposed that Canon, is made to have given his *Placuit* to it.

Ferrandus, an *African* Deacon, is the first Writer quoted by *Baronius*, for having published the *Sardican* Canons. But as that Cardinal could not but know, that those Canons were published by *Dionysius Exiguus*, who writ before *Ferrandus*: So it is more than probable, that the Reason why he rather named the *African* Deacon, than that *Roman* Abbot, was, because that Abbot has been long suspected of having set up a Mint at *Rome* for the Coining of false Evidences for the Papal Usurpations, in which he thought *Ferrandus* would not be suspected of having had any Hand.

But though among the *Latins*, that Canon would have passed well enough without any Assent of the Council's being added to it, since there was no such Assent to it, when it was made use of by *Zozimus*; among the *Greeks* when they had it in their Language, it was not to be expected, that it would pass so: But on the contrary, that they

they would from its having no such Assent to it, object that it did not appear that the Council had agreed to that Canon, when it was proposed to them by *Hosius*. Wherefore to prevent that Objection, the Council's Assent is added to it in the *Greek*.

Now as this appears to have been plain Managery, on purpose to render *Zozimus's* Canon the more serviceable to the *Roman See*, and its Claim to *Appeals*; so who else but *Dionysius*, who turned that Canon into *Greek*, could well be the Manager: Neither will it be hard to believe, that he who, for the Service of the *Roman See*, did tamper so much with that Canon, would for the same End, if there was need of it, stick at helping it to Companions, and fathering it, and them on an ancient Council.

Whether this Prank was played by *Dionysius* or not, he has left but little room to doubt of his being capable of doing as much as this comes to, to advance the Papal Authority; of which I do reckon him to have been a Master-Builder: For besides the Foundations which he himself laid, he seems to have given the Hint to *Isidore Mercator*, or whoever he was that did long after forge the Decretal Epistles. Which Work, though it is now ungratefully slighted by

by *Baronius*, and some other Papal Champions, did in its dark Day, the Papal Authority more Service, than all the other Books that were ever writ for it, *Baronius's* own Annals not excepted, which though infinitely more polite, serves the Papacy too much in the same way that they did, by justifying, though not by forging of many counterfeit Deeds.

But leaving all this to be determined by better Judgments, it is certain that in some Ages after the Time of the Council of *Sardica*, neither in the *East*, nor in the *West*, that Council was known to have made any such Canon, or if that was known, its Authority was not at all regarded. As to the *East*, the general Councils of *Constantinople* and *Calcedon*, must either have never heard of the Council of *Sardica's* having made any such Canon, as that of *Zozimus's*, or they must have flighted it: The last Appeals of Ecclesiasticks, being by both those Councils, in Contradiction to that Canon, lodged in the Bishops of the neighbouring Province, or in their several Patriarchs; and in the *West*, Appeals are by the Council of *Arles*, if the *Metropolitan* neglects to do Justice, to any Bishop that has twice appealed to him for it, lodged in a Council of the same Church, and by that Council his Cause was

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to be finally determined. And in a Council celebrated in *Lions*, after *Dionysius Exiguus's* Death, the *Gallican* Church does order all Debates among Bishops, to be finally decided by their *Metropolitans*. So little was *Zozimus's* Canon, if it was known to the *Gallican* Bishops, under the Name of a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*, regarded by them farther.

Martin, Archbishop of *Braga*, though he was born near to the City of *Sardica*, and lived after *Dionysius Exiguus*, takes no Notice of them in the Collection of the Canons published by him in a *Spanish* Council ; but does in that Collection set down a Canon of the Council of *Antioch*, which contradicts *Zozimus's*, in not allowing of any *Appeals* to be carried beyond the *Metropolitan*, and Bishops of the neighbouring Province.

And in the middle of the ninth Century, *Photius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, than whom no Man was ever better acquainted with the Canons of the Church, as appears from his Learned Writings, had never heard of the *Sardican* Council's having made any such Canon as that of *Zozimus's*, before he was told of it by Pope *Nicholas*, who had not the Tythe of his Reading and Learning ; and who was very angry with *Photius* for
not

not having heard of that Canon before ; but his Wrath has the less Authority, for his having been angry with *Photius* at the same time, for not having heard of the Decretal Epistles, which had not then been long forged in the *West*. And as *Baronius* is angry of course, which all the Popes are displeased with, so according to his civil Custom in such Cases, he calls that Learned Patriarch an old dissembling Knave, and offers to prove it from his Writings, in which he saith, several of the *Sardican* Canons were to be found, but he does not say that *Zozimus's* was.

Now if *Photius* had set down any of the Canons to which *Baronius* refers, under the Name of the *Sardican* Council, or if those Canons had never been under the Name of any other Council, but the *Sardican*, that might, in a good measure, have justified *Baronius's* having given *Photius* so ill a Name ; but if there is not one of those Canons that was not, before *Photius* writ, under the Name of some other Council, and *Baronius* knew as much, as it is very likely he did ; that ill Name is thereby thrown back upon him that gave it.

Lastly, There are several Things in these Canons that have a spurious Air in them ;

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for besides the great managed Difference I have taken Notice of, there are many more betwixt them in the *Latin* and the *Greek*.

In the *Latin* they are twenty-one; but that they might the more resemble the *Nicene* Canons among the *Greeks*, in the *Greek* they are but twenty.

In the *Latin*, the eighteenth Canon is proposed by one *Januarius*, who is not named in the *Greek*.

In the *Latin*, *Zozimus's* Canon is the seventh, in the *Greek* the fifth, with twenty more such differences.

They are also formed in a manner very different from all former Canons, except the *African*; all the former Canons, except the *African*, having been pronounced, and writ as Decrees and positive Laws; whereas these Canons are by the way of Question and Answer, one Bishop proposing one, and another another, and a third a third. Now considering that *Hosius*, who was the leading Man in the *Sardican*, and at which several *Greek* Bishops were present, was the same in the *Nicene* Council; is it not strange, if the *Sardican* Council had made any Canons, that they should not have been framed according to that great Pattern,

tern, rather than any other? And whereas in the Acts of the sixth Council of Carthage, Zozimus's first Canon has now a *Placuit* before it, and his second Canon has before it, *Hofius Episcopus dixit*; I am much inclined to think, that these two *Prefaces* were added to them by *Dionysius Exiguus*, when they were trimmed up by him to be fathered on the *Sardican Council*: And my Reason is, because if those two Canons had had those *Prefaces* to them, when they were sent by *Zozimus* into *Africk*, that alone would have been sufficient to have demonstrated them, not to have been made by the Council of *Nice*; as *Zozimus* affirmed them to have been, and who being a *Greek*, could not but know, that the *Nicene* Canons had not been proposed nor writ down in that manner. And that there has been tampering with the Acts of the sixth Council of *Carthage* in *Zozimus's* Favour is pretty plain from that Pope's second Canon, being now called in them a Canon of the Council of *Sardica*. *Baronius*, because he could not help it, acknowledges this not to be right; but he will have it to have happened by the Words, *the Sardican Council* having been by some innocent Hand writ on the Margin of

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those Acts; and which in time had stole into their Body, and jostled out of it the Words, *The Council of Nice*. Now though I will not say that this was not possible, yet all Things considered, I think, one may venture to say that it is not so probable, as it is, that it was a designed Corruption; and which if it was, no Body so likely to have had an Hand in it as *Dionysius Exiguus*, who by that laid up an ancient Evidence of the *Sardican Council's* having made Statutes, and of one of *Zozimus's* Canons at least having been of that Number, and if this was an Accident, the same I believe happened in the fifth Statute of the first Council of *Carthage*; which Statute, though this Council, as it appears from its *Exordium*, was celebrated before the *Sardican*, is called a *Sardican* Statute; for is it credible, that if the *Sardican* Statutes had been thus publicly mentioned in the first Council of *Carthage*, that in the sixth Council in the same City, none of the *African* Fathers should ever have heard of them; and that *St. Austin* who was present at it, should know so little of that Council, which in this Statute is called *the most Holy*, as to believe it to have been an *Arian* Assembly? So having told the
Impartial,

Impartial, that the Business the Emperor had in that Council, was more like the Work of *Constantine* the Great, than that of his Son *Constance*; and that the Word *Sardican* is in a Statute, brought in by Head and Shoulders, upon a Statute of the Council of *Nice*, proposed by another Bishop; let them judge which is most likely, that *Constantine* should be in the *Exordium* instead of *Constance*, or the Word *Sardican* in that Statute instead of the *Nicene*, as we see it is in the Acts of a latter Council of *Carthage*.

There is another thing that a little disposeth one to suspect *Zozimus's* two Canons, and their Companions to have been formed by *Dionysius* after the *African* Pattern, when he fathered them upon the Council of *Sardica*; and that is, that in his Letter to the Bishop of *Salona*, he tells him, that having translated all the *Greek* Canons into *Latin*, He had added to them the *Sardican* and *African* Statutes. Now if this be the first time the *Sardican* Council is said to have made any Statutes; *Dionysius's* joining them here with the *African*, leads one to think that he might probably put them in the same Dress with their *African* Companions, and especially since it is so hard to find out any other Reason

for their being in that Dress. And if the *Preface* that is palmed on the Council of *Nice*, in which it is said, *That the Papal Supremacy did not owe its Origin, to the Decrees of Councils, but to Christ's Institution*; and that Patch to the sixth Canon of the same Council, *Ecclesia Romana semper habuit Primatum*, was *Dionysius's* Manufacture, as they probably were; nothing of this kind was too much for him to do, for the Service of the *Roman See*.

Neither is it very certain, that a Legate, sent from *Rome* by the Pope, was called his Legate a *Latere*, as he is in *Zozimus's* Canon now, so early as either the Council of *Sardica*, or the sixth Council of *Carthage*.

Now if what has been here offered, should be able only to raise a Suspicion of the *Sardican* Council's not having made the Canons which have passed currant so long under its Name, in any that enjoy more and greater Advantages than I do to carry this Matter farther, I shall reckon my Pains to have been well bestowed; for though it is true, that though *Zozimus's* Canon had certainly been made by the *Sardican* Council, that That would not prove the *Papal Supremacy* to have been
been

been from the Beginning, but rather the contrary ; yet one thing I must say of it, that it would be a Proof of the Antiquity of that Supremacy, far beyond any other that it has.

I shall make three short Observations, and so put an End to this Essay.

The *First* is, That most of the Canons called the *Sardican*, are the same in Substance with the Canons of the Council of *Antioch*, which was dissolved five Years before the *Sardican* met ; and indeed *Zozimus's* worthy Canon is in Substance the same with the fourteenth and fifteenth Canons of that Council, only instead of the *neighbouring Metropolitan*, the Bishop of *Rome* is thrust into it.

The *Second Observation* is, That in the long and solemn Contest betwixt the *African* Church and three Popes, concerning *the Right of Appeals to Rome*, the Popes, though they laboured hard in vain to have founded that Right on a Canon of the Council of *Nice*, did never say one Word of Christ's having granted them that Authority ; so that it is more than probable, that the Bishops of *Rome*, if they could have had that Jurisdiction settled upon them by a General Council, which the Imperial Dignity of their City caused them to

thirst after, would have been well contented to have enjoyed it as an Authority granted to them by the Church: But not having been able to obtain that, and fearing that *Constantinople* would by that way sooner get such a Supremacy of Jurisdiction from a General Council than their City, now the Emperors had in a manner left it; they went up to, *Thou art Peter, &c.* for a Grant of that Jurisdiction. And great pity it was, that the Popes when they found that *Zozimus's* Canon could not be imposed on the *African* Bishops, as a *Nicene* Canon, had not tried, whether that of, *Thou art Peter, &c.* would not have succeeded better; for if they had by what *St. Austin*, who was present at that Council, saith of that Text of Scripture in more Places than one, we have Reason to believe the Papal Supremacy might, from those Learned Fathers, have received its Death's Wound in its Cradle.

The *Last Observation* is, That at the time of the sixth Council of *Carthage*, nay, until the time that That glorious Church was utterly destroyed by the *Arabs*, the *African* Church had produced many more Learned Men, and who had done the Christian Religion greater Service, than the

the *Roman* had produced. All the *Latin* Writers, of any great Note, in the three first Centuries, having been *African* Christians; and if St. *Ambrose* was not a *Roman*, I do not think he was by Birth, before Pope *Gregory*, who lived at the latter end of the sixth Century, there was not a Christian Writer of a great Name, that was either a *Roman* or an *Italian*. And for *Gregory's* Learning, it was with the *Glow-worm*, for its Light, pretty much beholden to the Darkneſs of the Age it was in. And after *Gregory*, to the Papacy's great Advantage, there was not one in eight Centuries, that was critically Learned, either in the Scriptures, or in Ecclesiastical Antiquity.

Indeed, ſince Learning was reſtored in the *Weſt*, by the *Greeks* having come into it a little before and after the Loſs of *Conſtantinople*, *Rome* and *Italy* have abounded with great Scholars in all ſorts of Learning. But it may be worth obſerving, that though ſeveral of thoſe Learned Men have been raiſed to the Dignity of Cardinals, not one of them has ever been able to climb up to the Papal Chair; which among other Things ſhews, by what Steps it is aſcended, and that the Way to it does not lie through the Study of the
Scrip-

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Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers; but through the Study of Men and Business, and the Policy and Wealth which that Study helps People to. For what a late Pope ingeniously confessed to the *Jansenists*, when they appealed to him; which was, *That he had never studied Divinity*, might, without any prejudice to their Infallibility, have been owned by all the Popes that were not *Monks* or *Friars*, and who had never studied Ecclesiastical Antiquities neither, to which School-men are commonly as great Strangers as they are to *Greek* and good *Latin*. And as it was the profound Ignorance in the Scriptures and Ecclesiastical History, the *Western* Church was under for many Ages, that filled her with spurious Writings, forged on purpose to advance the Papal Authority, and that caused them to be universally received as genuine; so the same Ignorance has larded those supposititious Writings so with gross Historical Mistakes and Blunders, that none that know any thing of Church History can read them, and not feel them to be Forgeries. And for which Reason, and no other, many of them are acknowledged to be so by the ab'est Papal Champions.

It

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Papal Supremacy, after the Deeds by which it was first raised, and was long supported in the *West*, were proved to be Counterfeits, should have sunk with its Foundations; and so it must, if it had not, before those Deeds came to be questioned, made so good use of its Time, as to have gathered Wealth, and other such Interests sufficient to support it, without any other Title beside that of Possession. There being but few so fond of naked Truth and Justice, when they are discovered, as to sacrifice the greatest worldly Hopes and Advantages to their Service; or as not to seek by all subtle and shuffling Ways and Arts to baffle and obscure them, if it be possible. So that That Man, whoever he was, did hit the Nail on the Head, that said, *It was a Jest for the Council of Basil, which had nothing to give, to contend for Superiority with the Pope, who had so much.*

However, when the Time for the Accomplishment of all the Prophecies relating to that proud *See* is come; and which is, by many Learned and Pious Men thought not to be far off; no Wealth, Policy, or Sorceries will be able to uphold it; and by that Downfal, a most blessed Scene will be opened to the whole Christian Church: And all Nations being charmed

charmed with the Beauty of her Holiness, will flow unto her, making one Sheepfold under Christ, the great Shepherd of Souls, and the True Head of his Church, which he Purchased with his own Blood; washing them from all the Spots and Blemishes of Popery, the great Corruption of the Christian Faith, Worship, and Spirit.

A N
APPENDIX
TO THE
Dissertation
ON THE

Papal Supremacy, &c.

HAVING said in that Dissertation, that Pope *Gregory* the Great's double Dealing in the Affair of the *Ecclesiastical Supremacy*; and his Letters, first to the Emperor *Mauritius*, and afterwards to the Parricide *Phocas*, by whom that Emperor and his Sons were barbarously murdered; were enough to lessen the high Opinion which many have of that Pope's Saintship; that I may not be thought by any, who have not those Letters at Hand, to have bolted this out rashly against him, I have here set those Letters down, that the Reader may

may judge from them as he shall find Cause.

Gregory to Mauritius Augustus.

‘ **H**E is guilty before Almighty God,
 ‘ who is not pure in all he doth and
 ‘ faith to the most Serene Lords : I, the un-
 ‘ worthy Servant of your Piety, in this
 ‘ Suggestion do speak, neither as a Bishop,
 ‘ nor as a Servant, by right of the Repub-
 ‘ lick, but as a private Person ; because, most
 ‘ Serene Lord, you were my Lord before
 ‘ you were Lord of all. The most illustri-
 ‘ ous Person *Longinus* being come, I received
 ‘ the Lords Law ; and to which, being at
 ‘ that Time Sick and Weak, I was not able
 ‘ to return an Answer : In which Law the
 ‘ Piety of the Lords does Establish, *That*
 ‘ *none engaged in the publick Administrations,*
 ‘ *shall take upon them an Ecclesiastical Office :*
 ‘ This I did highly commend, knowing e-
 ‘ vidently, that whoever leaves the Secular
 ‘ Habit, and makes haste to get into Eccle-
 ‘ siastical Offices, does change, but does not
 ‘ forsake the World : But it being said in
 ‘ the same Law, *That it shall not be lawful*
 ‘ *for him to retire to a Monastery,* at this, I
 ‘ did wonder very much ; seeing his Ac-
 ‘ counts may be made up there ; and it may
 ‘ be

‘ be so ordered, that his Debts shall be paid
‘ by the Place which hath received him :
‘ For if any do retire to a Monastery, with
‘ a devout Mind, he must first restore the
‘ things which he hath taken unjustly ; and
‘ which he will do with the more Expediti-
‘ on, the more seriously he thinks of his
‘ Soul. Its being also subjoined to that
‘ Law, *That none that are signed in the Hand*
‘ *may retire to Monasteries*, is, I do own to
‘ my Lords, a Constitution that terrifies
‘ me vehemently ; the Way to Heaven, to
‘ many, being shut by it ; and that which
‘ hath been hitherto lawful, is now forbid-
‘ den : For as there are many who can lead
‘ a religious Life in a secular Habit, so there
‘ be many likewise, who, if they do not
‘ leave all, cannot be saved : And though I,
‘ who do speak these things to my Lords,
‘ *Am but Dust, and a Worm* ; yet, believing
‘ this Constitution to be contrary to God,
‘ the Author of all things, I cannot be si-
‘ lent before the Lords : For to this End, a
‘ Power over all Men was given from Hea-
‘ ven, to the Piety of my Lords ; that they
‘ who desire that which is good should be
‘ assisted, and that the Way to Heaven
‘ should be wider, and that the Earthly
‘ Kingdom should serve the Heavenly :
‘ And yet, behold, it is said with a loud
‘ Voice,

‘ Voice, *That it shall not be lawful for any that*
 ‘ *are listed in the Earthly Militia, until they*
 ‘ *have served their time out in it, or are dis-*
 ‘ *abled by Bodily Infirmities, to fight under*
 ‘ *Christ: To these things, behold, Christ*
 ‘ *will answer by me his, and your lowest*
 ‘ *Servant, saying, From a Notarius, I made*
 ‘ *you Comes Excubitorum, and from Co-*
 ‘ *mes Excubitorum, I made you Cæsar; and*
 ‘ *from Cæsar, I made you Emperor; and not*
 ‘ *so only, but the Father of Emperors: I have*
 ‘ *committed my Priests into your Hands, and do*
 ‘ *you withdraw your Soldiers from my Service?*
 ‘ Most Pious Lord, I beseech you, let your
 ‘ Servant know what Answer you will re-
 ‘ turn to your Lord in Judgment, when he
 ‘ shall come and say these things. But per-
 ‘ haps it is believed, that none that do retire
 ‘ thus to Monasteries, do it with a good In-
 ‘ tention; but I, your unworthy Servant,
 ‘ in my own Days have known many Soldi-
 ‘ ers work Signs and Miracles in Monaste-
 ‘ ries; and yet by this Law all such are for-
 ‘ bid to go into them. I beseech my Lord
 ‘ to enquire whether any former Emperor
 ‘ did ever make such a Law, and after that,
 ‘ to consider this more strictly; and in Truth
 ‘ it ought to be well considered, since People,
 ‘ at the time when the End of the World is
 ‘ near, are forbid by it to leave the World:
 ‘ For

‘ For behold, it will not be long before the
‘ Heavens and the Earth being on Fire, and
‘ Elements all in Flames, the tremendous
‘ Judge will appear with Angels and Arch-
‘ angels, with Thrones and Dominions,
‘ with Principalities and Powers; and, if
‘ he should forgive all Sins, and should only
‘ insist on this Law’s having been made a-
‘ gainst him, what, I beseech you, can be
‘ offered in excuse? I do therefore by the tre-
‘ mendous Judge, deprecate; that *so many*
‘ *Tears, so many Prayers, so many Alms-Deeds,*
‘ *and so many Fasts,* may not on any Occasi-
‘ on be sullied before the Eyes of Almighty
‘ God: But that your Piety will, by either
‘ tempering or changing the said Law, a-
‘ bate its Rigour: For the Armies of Lords
‘ do encrease against their Enemies, as God’s
‘ Army in Prayer encreaseth: However, be-
‘ ing subject to Command, I have sent that
‘ Law over many Parts of the Earth; and
‘ since the said Law is not agreeable to Al-
‘ mighty God, behold, I have by this Paper
‘ communicated my Suggestion to the most
‘ Serene Lords; and so have on both sides
‘ performed what was incumbent on me,
‘ by having yielded Obedience to the Em-
‘ peror, and by not having been silent in
‘ what I thought concerned God.

How strangely is the Bishop of *Rome's* Stile altered from what it was when this Letter was written? Which shews plainly, that about the Year six hundred, the Bishop of *Rome* was not less subject to the Emperor, than the Archbishop of *Canterbury* is at this time to the Queen of *England*. And though in this Letter Pope *Gregory* was much dissatisfied with the Law the Emperor *Mauritius* had made; yet all through it, he expresseth a very great Veneration and Love for *Mauritius*, whose Servant he saith he had been, before he was raised to be Emperor: He does also extol *Mauritius* for his Piety and many good Deeds, praying that they may not be sullied in the Sight of God by this Law, with which though he was much dissatisfied, yet in Obedience to the Emperor's Command it was sent by him to all Parts: And which, believing that Law to be sinful, as *Gregory* did, who saith expressly that it was *contrary to Christ*, and *did stop the Way to Heaven to many*; he, nor no other Bishop, being so persuaded, ought to have published: Neither is *Gregory's* having afterwards sent a private Suggestion against that Law to the Emperor, sufficient to excuse his having published it in Contradiction to his Conscience. And as this Action shews *Gregory*

gory to have been one of a very complaisant Conscience ; so this whole Letter does plainly shew how much subject to the Emperor Gregory did reckon the Bishop of Rome to be : For, should the present Roman Emperor but make such a Law, and send it to the Pope, commanding him to publish it in Italy ; what a Hurricane would it raise there ? And the Emperor instead of being told by that Bishop, that he was *his Majesty's unworthy Servant, and but as Dust and a Worm before him ; and that though he judged that to be an ill Law, he had nevertheless, in Obedience to his Command published it,* would infallibly hear from him, of the Bishop of Rome's being Christ's Vicar upon Earth, highly exalted above all Emperors and Kings ; and, if he did not immediately revoke that Law, that Prelate would tell him, that he would deprive him of his Imperial Dignity : So little is Gregory's Example, though he was the last Pope that was reckoned a Saint, regarded by his Successors ; by whom, or their Agents, on purpose to teach Gregory to speak in a Dialect more agreeable to their own, several Writings have been forged under that Pope's Name, and particularly that Charter which Gregory is said to have granted to the Monastery of St. Menard ; in which Charter, he does by his own Authority deprive

all Kings of their Crowns, that shall any ways disturb the Monks of that Convent : Not that *Gregory* had not two Faces, a humble, and a proud ; and which he did change as he saw Occasion.

Gregorius Mauritio Augusto.

‘ THE Piety of Emperors, which does
 ‘ use to extend it self mercifully to
 ‘ their Servants, did shine so in this benign
 ‘ Relief, that the Poverty of all the Infirm is
 ‘ relieved by the Consolation of its Great-
 ‘ ness ; and for which Cause *we do all with*
 ‘ *Tears and Prayers beg, that Almighty God,*
 ‘ *who touched your Clemency’s Heart to do this*
 ‘ *thing, would preserve your’s, and your Son’s*
 ‘ *Empire, safe in the constancy of his Love ;*
 ‘ *and would, with the Assistance of his Majesty,*
 ‘ *extend your Victories over all Nations.* The
 ‘ thirty Pound of Gold which was brought
 ‘ hither by my Fellow-servant *Busa*, was
 ‘ faithfully distributed by *Scribo* amongst
 ‘ the Priests, the Poor, and others, and some
 ‘ Nuns, after they had been Captives, ha-
 ‘ ving fled from divers Provinces into this
 ‘ City ; as many of them as this Place could
 ‘ receive, were disposed of in Monasteries ;
 ‘ and among those for whom there was no
 ‘ room, and did live alone poorly, the
 ‘ over-

‘ overplus of that which was given to the
‘ Blind, and to the Lame, and to other in-
‘ firm People, was distributed : So that not
‘ only the poor Natives, but Strangers also
‘ who have come hither, have partaked of
‘ the Bounty of the Emperors : And who
‘ do all therefore pray unanimously toge-
‘ ther for the Lives of the Emperors ; and
‘ that Almighty God would grant you long
‘ and quiet Times, and that your Piety’s
‘ most happy Off-spring may long flourish
‘ in the *Roman* Common-wealth : The Sol-
‘ diers Gowns were likewise made so by
‘ the fore-named my Fellow-servant *Scribo*,
‘ in the Presence of the glorious *Rasco*, that
‘ all that are under a due Discipline, did
‘ with Thanks receive the Gifts of the Em-
‘ perors, to the averting of that murmuring
‘ which did formerly use to reign.

By this Letter in which *Gregory* extols
the Emperor *Mauritius* so much for his Pie-
ty and great Charity, and does with Tears
pray to God for his, and his Son’s long Life,
and Posterity in the Empire ; one might
well have expected, that the villainous Mur-
der of those Princes by their Servant *Phocas*,
must have been a terrible Blow to *Gregory*,
their old Servant, as he calls himself, and
their Well-wisher, and who had shed so

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many Tears in Prayers for their Prosperity ; and so it would certainly, had those Professions of *Gregory's* been sincere : But so far was this Saint of a Pope, from being afflicted with the News of the barbarous and unnatural Murders of those Princes, for whom he had pretended to have so tender an Affection, that, on the contrary, he triumphed in them, and immediately made his Court to their villainous Murderer *Phocas*, in a Strain much fitter for a *Hugh Peters*, than for a Saint : For, when the Picture of *Phocas* and of his Wife *Leontia* came to *Rome*, *Gregory* ordered it with great Solemnity to be set up in the Oratory of *St. Cæsarius*, in the Imperial Palace ; as appears from the following Inscription.

*In the Name of our Lord God and Saviour
Jesus Christ, by the sixth Indiction, on the
twenty-third Day of the Month of No-
vember, in the Times of the Lord and
most blessed Pope Gregory ; Phocas with
Leontia Augusta, was crowned, in the
seventh Palace, which is called Secundia-
nas : And Mauritius the Emperor, was
slain with all his Sons, who were Theodo-
sius, who was crowned, Tiberius, Pe-
trus, Paulus, and Justinianus, together
with Petrus the Brother of the above-
written*

written Mauritius Augustus ; as were also several of the Nobles who adhered to him, to wit, Constantinus a Patrician, and Curator de Placidii ; as also Georgius the Princes Notarius : The Picture of the above-written Phocas, and Leontia, Augustus's, came to Rome on the seventh of the Calends of May ; and who were proclaimed in the Latern, and in the Basilica of Julius, by all the Clergy and Senate, saying, Hear, O Christ ! Life to Phocas Augustus, and to Leontia Augusta. The most blessed Lord and Apostolical Pope Gregory, did command that Picture to be set up in the Oratory of St. Cæsarius the Martyr, within the Palace.

Now, to what End did Gregory, in the Honours he was here doing to *Phocas*, mention the Emperor *Mauritius*, and his five Sons, and others being slain ; unless he reckoned those Villanies to be *Phocas's* Trophies ; and which if he did, he does not only not deserve the Title of Saint, but no Title is bad enough to give him in the room of it. But let that be as it will, *Gregory's* congratulating of *Phocas* as he does in the following Letter, upon his coming to the Empire ; is enough to turn the Hearts of all against that Pope, that have any thing of Conscience or

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Honour unsuppressed in them by Superstition.

Gregorius Phocæ Augusto.

GLory be to God in the highest, who, according as it is written, changeth the Times, and transfers Kingdoms; that also is manifest to all, which he has condescended to speak by his Prophet, saying, The highest ruleth in the Kingdom of Men, and he giveth it to whom he pleaseth: *The Regiments of mortal Life are in the incomprehensible Dispensation of Almighty God; and so when the Sins of many that are Righteous, are to be smitten, one is exalted by whose Hardness the Necks of the Subjects are depressed with the Yoke of Tribulation; and which we in our Affliction have long experienced: At another time again, when the merciful God has decreed to comfort the Hearts of many Mourners with his Consolation, he raiseth one to the Top of the Empire, through the Bowels of whose Mercy, he pours the Grace of his Rejoycings into the Minds of all: With the abundance of which Joys we the sooner believed we should be strengthened, because we rejoiced so upon the Benignity of your Piety being raised to the Empire. Let the Heavens rejoyce, and let the Earth be glad upon your gracious Deeds, and let all the People*
of

of the Common-wealth, who hitherto have been so grievously afflicted, triumph : May the proud Minds of Enemies be depressed, by the Yoke of your Domination ; and the contrite and distressed Minds of Subjects be raised by your Mercy : May the Virtue of the heavenly Grace make you terrible to the Enemies, and Piety make you benign to the Subjects : May the whole Common-wealth be in Peace in your most happy Times, and may the Prey of Peace under the Pretence of Actions be removed. Let the Snares of Testaments, and the free Gifts violently exacted, cease ; and let the secure Possession of their Goods return to all ; that so they may rejoice in the Enjoyment of those Goods without Fear, which they have acquired without Fraud : And let every one's Liberty be restored under the Yoke of your pious Empire : For the difference which is betwixt the Kings of the Nations, and the Emperors of the Common-wealth, is, that the Kings of the Nations are Lords of Slaves, but the Emperors of the Republick are Lords of free Men : But we can express this by Praying better then by Suggesting. May Almighty God therefore by his Grace hold your Piety's Heart in his Hand, in every Thought and Deed ; and may the holy Spirit, by dwelling in your Heart, dispose it to do every thing that is just and merciful ; that so your Clemency after a long Reign on Earth, may attain the heavenly Kingdoms.

It

It was by *Gregory's*, and his Successor *Boniface's* saying nothing of Repentance to *Phocas*, and making their Court in this vile and impious Manner, that they got that Parricide and Usurper to establish the *Supremacy* of the Bishop of *Rome*; *Phocas* hoping thereby to have engaged that Bishop in his own and in his Family's Interests in the *Roman* Empire. Now after all this, I can see no Grounds for this *Gregory's* being commonly said, to be, *The last good Pope, and the first bad Pope*, unless it be from his doublings having given him a double Character: Pride and Humility having, through his whole Conduct, taken their Turns in him, as he judged to be most convenient for the advancing of his See: And as to his Disloyalty, Diffimulation, Ingratitude, &c. the foregoing Letters do shew how great they were: And it had been happy for our Island, if the *Saxons* had been converted to Christianity by the *British* Clergy, and not by this Pope and his Disciples; since, if they had, it is likely *Britain* might never have come under the *Papal Supremacy*; under whose Bondage she having groaned for many Ages, was, through God's great Mercy to her, at last happily delivered out of it.

Baronius

Baronius having been compelled, by their being so palpably Spurious, to acknowledge the *Decretal Epistles to be late and counterfeit Writings*; that the Church of *Rome*, whose Interests were continually in that Cardinal's Eye, might not suffer by its being known, that she had for several Ages, and for great Purposes, made use of those forged Deeds; he roundly denied their Authority ever to have been made use of by the Popes, to prove or advance their own: Which is so far from being true, that the Popes knowing those *Epistles* to be the only Evidences they had of their *Supremacy's* having been from the *beginning*, they contended vehemently to impose them on the World, as the genuine Writings of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, under whose Names they were published. And so successful were the Popes in that Matter, that through many unlearned Ages, none doubted of those *Epistles* being Genuine: Neither indeed did any thing contribute so much to the Belief of the *Papal Supremacy* having been always in the Church, and to the introducing of that *Supremacy* into the Countries which were not Subject to the *Roman Empire*, at the time when that *Supremacy* was established in it by the Emperor *Phocas*, as those *Epistles* having been universally believed to be the genuine Writings

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tings of the ancient Bishops of *Rome*, whose Names are before them. And to let the World see how little regard *Baronius's* Word deserves, in any Matter where the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* is concerned, I shall here give an early Instance of the Popes having made use of *those forged Deeds*, to prove and establish a great Branch of their *Supremacy*.

Hincmarus, Archbishop of *Rheims*, and other *French* Bishops, having, in the ninth Century, by their own Authority, without taking any Notice of the Pope, deposed *Rothaldus* Bishop of *Soison*, and that Bishop having appealed to *Rome*; the Pope, who at that time was *Nicholas* the Eighth, to encourage such Appeals, declared that Sentence to be void, for having been passed without his Consent or Knowledge: *Hincmarus* and the other *French* Bishops denied the Bishop of *Rome* to have any such Authority over the *French* Church, and rejected the *Decretal Epistles*, which had not then been long in *France*, as Writings lately counterfeited, upon the Pope and his Agents having made use of those *Epistles* to prove that such an Authority over all Churches was from the beginning lodged in the See of *Rome*: Pope *Nicholas* finding his best, if not only Evidences, flighted thus as counterfeit Writings,

tings, he did with all his might set himself to prove those *Epistles* to be Genuine: I shall here set down that Pope's own Words to that purpose, as they lie in a Letter which he writ on this Occasion to the Archbishops and Bishops of *France* in the Year 865.

‘ God forbid, saith Pope *Nicholas* in that
 ‘ Letter, that any who do persevere in the
 ‘ Catholick Faith to the last Day of their
 ‘ Lives, should not, with great Discretion,
 ‘ and a due Veneration, embrace the *Decre-*
 ‘ *tal Constitutions*, and all the Writings
 ‘ which do set forth the Ecclesiastical Dis-
 ‘ cipline; and which Writings having been
 ‘ antiently conserved, and as they are still
 ‘ in the *Roman Church*, in her Archives
 ‘ and old Monuments, *they were sent by her*
 ‘ *to you to conserve*: God forbid that we
 ‘ should any way slight the Writings of
 ‘ those, who with their rosy Blood, or
 ‘ dewy Sweats, or Discourses, have, we see,
 ‘ through God's Grace, adorned the Church:
 ‘ For, if by their Decrees the Works of all
 ‘ other Writings are approved or rejected;
 ‘ so that whatever the Apostolical See ap-
 ‘ proved of, is at this Day received, and
 ‘ what that See has rejected is ineffectual;
 ‘ how much more then ought the Works
 ‘ which that See it self has written, at di-
 ‘ vers

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‘ vers Times for the Catholick Faith, and
 ‘ for the repelling of profane Doctrines, in
 ‘ various and manifold Necessities, to be
 ‘ preferred with all Honour ; and to be, on
 ‘ all Occasions and Dispensations, reverent-
 ‘ ly received by all with Discretion ?

‘ For even some of you, who have writ,
 ‘ that those Decretals of the ancient Popes
 ‘ are not in all the Body of the Code of the
 ‘ Canons ; have, notwithstanding, made
 ‘ use of those Writings when they made
 ‘ for their purpose ; but do now reject
 ‘ them, only for to diminish the Power of
 ‘ the Apostolical See, and for to augment
 ‘ their own Privileges : For we have some
 ‘ of their Writings by us, in which, in their
 ‘ own Causes, they do reverence not only
 ‘ the Decrees of all the *Roman* Pontiffs, but
 ‘ also those of their own Predecessors ; but
 ‘ it is otherwise with them, when we do not
 ‘ cease to oppose their Minds, and do sup-
 ‘ port the Privileges which are proved to
 ‘ have been, and still to be profitable, and
 ‘ which will always be so to the universal
 ‘ Church : For it is fit that where the build-
 ‘ ing of the whole Fabrick stands, there
 ‘ should be in all things a firm and strong
 ‘ Foundation : And if *the Decretal Epistles*
 ‘ of *the ancient Roman Pontiffs* are not to be
 ‘ received because they are not found in the
 ‘ Code

‘ Code of the Canons; for the same Reason,
 ‘ no Institute nor Writing of St. Gregory,
 ‘ or of any other before or after him, ought
 ‘ to be received, seeing they are not in that
 ‘ Code: Let such therefore tear those Doc-
 ‘ trines and Sanctions out of their Books,
 ‘ for to what purpose should they find a
 ‘ Place in their Parchments, if they do not
 ‘ receive them: But why do we dwell on
 ‘ this, since, by the same Rule, we must not
 ‘ receive the Divine Scriptures, which are
 ‘ not neither in the Code of the Ecclesiasti-
 ‘ cal Canons.

Unless false Logick, or Canting, is able to legitimate spurious Writings, the *Decretal Epistles* gained but little Credit by what is offered here in their Defence by Pope Nicholas: And if there be not an undeniable Proof, of what is universally believed, of the *Decretal Epistles* having been all forged in Spain; what is said here by Pope Nicholas, of their having been sent into France from Rome, in whose Archives they had been long sacredly conserved, may raise a Suspicion, of Rome's, for whose Sake those Epistles were counterfeited, having been the Place of their Nativity; and from whence, they might have first been sent into Spain, and might have crept out of Spain into France, before they

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they were sent thither immediately by the Pope : But this I do offer only as a Conjecture. And as to the Canons of the Council of *Sardica*, of which the Bishop of *Rome*, and particularly this Pope *Nicholas*, did likewise make great use, to introduce and establish the *Supremacy* of their See ; if those Canons were ranked with the *Decretal Epistles*, they would not perhaps have much wrong done them : And would any Ecclesiastical Antiquary write a full and accurate History of those Canons, he would very much oblige the *Protestant* World by it ; for though much has been written upon them, I do not take that Subject to be exhausted.



F I N I S.